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# The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

Miguel Costansó: California's Forgotten Founder
*By* JANET R. FIREMAN AND MANUEL P. SERVIN

Chinatowns in the Delta: The Chinese
in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, 1870-1960
*By* GEORGE CHU

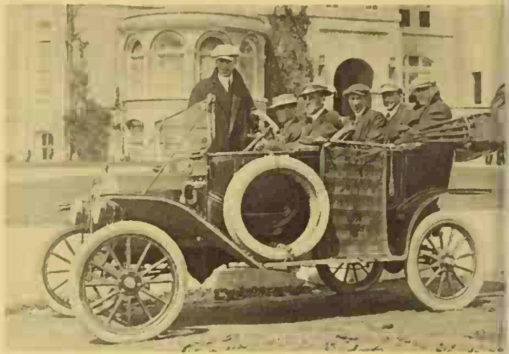
State Separation Schemes, 1907-1921
*By* ROBERTA M. McDOW

Harbor Entry and Recognition Signals in Early California
*By* DONALD C. CUTTER

MARCH 1970

# SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AND ITS UNIVERSIT

*By* Manuel P. Servin, *Associate Professor*
*History at the University of Southern Californ*
*and* Iris Higbie Wilson, *Associate Professor*
*History at the University of San Diego.*



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# Miguel Costansó: California's Forgotten Founder

*By* JANET R. FIREMAN AND MANUEL P. SERVIN

ALTHOUGH MIGUEL COSTANSO was probably the best educated and most able man of all the members of Alta California's founding expedition,[1] it is ironical that today in California, practically nothing is known of this military engineer, and no material has been uncovered relating to his birth, education, and death. Though Costansó has been neglected by contemporary historians, records in Spanish and Mexican archives and libraries leave no doubt concerning this California founder's importance and stature during his lifetime.

Costansó arrived in New Spain in 1764 with the military reorganization expedition of Lieutenant General Don Juan de Villalba. Born in Barcelona in 1741, he had entered the Corps of Engineers on January 12, 1762, with the rank of *subteniente,* as *ingeniero delineador,* after having served in the Spanish Infantry along the Catalonian and Granada coasts.[2] Nicolás de Lafora, a member of the group of military engineers with whom Costansó departed from Spain, not only described their arrival, but recognized early that Costansó distinguished himself in New Spain. Lafora described the arrival briefly when he wrote that

> In the month of August of 1764 seven military engineers departed from Spain for Mexico where they formed a brigade which was placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Miguel del Corral. In addition to the above mentioned, it consisted of the following: Engineer Corps Captains Antonio Exarich and Nicolás de Lafora, Lieutenant Felipe Sallent, and Sublieutenants Miguel Costansó, Francisco Fersene, and Joseph González. These men arrived at Veracruz toward the end of the above-said year. Some of these officers, as a result of their activities in New Spain, distinguished themselves, among them the Engineer Costansó.[3]

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JANET R. FIREMAN is currently in Spain completing her research on the Spanish Corps of Engineers in New Spain. Manuel P. Servín presented a paper on Miguel Costansó at San Diego during the Bicentennial Celebration of the Founding of California.

From the time of his arrival at Veracruz in 1764, until May of 1767, Costansó served under General Don Antonio Ricardos and his immediate superior, Lieutenant Colonel Miguel del Corral, in mapping and charting the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Less than a year before Costansó left Veracruz, his first post in what was to become an extremely long career in New Spain, there were seven military engineers stationed in Veracruz and at the harbor fortification San Juan de Ulúa. Four more military engineers served the interior of New Spain,[4] and it was to the credit of Costansó that he was selected, upon his own petition, to travel to Sonora as engineer for the Elizondo expedition, sent to control rebel natives.

Costansó served under Brigadier Domingo Elizondo for about one year, charting the battle plans and taking geographical and topographical measurements utilized in later maps.[5] Called from Sonora by Visitor General José de Gálvez, Costansó continued southwest and joined Gálvez in San Blas to participate in the *junta* to decide upon the "proposed voyages to San Diego and Monterey".[6]

It is obvious from the men that Gálvez invited — Engineer Costansó, Naval Commandant Manuel Rivero Cordero, Mathematician Antonio Faveau y Quesada, and Royal Navy Pilot Vicente Vila — that no hacks were consulted. Even Captain Gaspar de Portolá and Father Fray Junípero Serra were not present to plan the occupation of Alta California. Gálvez did not inform Portolá, who at the time was governor of Sinaloa, until after the *junta*.[7] Fray Junípero was not yet a follower of Gálvez because Father Francisco Palou and the Fernandinos had just finished their intrigue to replace the Jaliscan Franciscans in the former Jesuit mission field of Lower California.[8] Consequently, to overlook Gálvez's plan and ambition to occupy Upper California, and especially to ignore the plans that Costansó, Rivero, Faveau y Quesada, and Vila helped to develop for the founding of Alta California, is historical folly.[9]

The importance of Gálvez' plan and Costansó's contribution for the founding of Upper California are well appreciated and described by Professor Michael E. Thurman, the authority on the port of San Blas, where he states that

> Gálvez also assisted Manuel Rivero with his plans for building up a permanent settlement — the village of San Blas. Noting that the commandant had completed an outline map of the new Villa de San Blas and the port, Gálvez assigned his own engineer, Dragoon Lieutenant Miguel Costansó, to complete a set of finished drawings for submission to the viceroy. Apparently both Costansó and Colonel Domingo Elizondo worked on the maps and drawings, but the official map or maps sent to Viceroy Francisco de Croix were drawn by Lieutenant Costansó. Consequently, from the point of view of modern-day historians, the remarkable Costansó had contributed early and significantly to the founding of Alta California — in this case, with his intimate knowledge of its major supply base and the new military bastion of San Blas.[10]

Building the Villa de San Blas was, however, only the first project initiated for occupying Upper California. The other plans developed by this distinguished *junta* were put into effect efficiently and quickly. Both Costansó and Gálvez crossed the Sea of Cortés and landed in the rundown former Jesuit mission fields. Costansó was dispatched to the area north of Cape San Lucas and made scale drawings and plans of the Cape, Bahía de La Paz, and Cerralvo.[11] Gálvez dictatorially examined the missions, reorganized administrative methods, instituted other reforms and practices, and organized the four-phased Sacred Expedition to Alta California, personally selecting Fray Junípero Serra as president of the future missions despite opposition to the project by Serra's superior.[12]

The Sacred Expedition was a dramatic success. The *San Antonio,* commanded by Juan Pérez, discoverer of Vancouver Island, arrived first on April 11, 1769. The *San Carlos,* commanded by Vicente Vila and carrying Engineer Costansó and Lieutenant Pedro Fages, dropped anchor on April 29. The first land expedition, led by Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, and accompanied by diarist Fray Juan Crespi, made camp on May 14. Finally, the Portolá-Serra contingent, almost duplicating Rivera y Moncada's march, arrived at San Diego on July 1 after losing thirty-two out of forty-four Jesuit civilized Indians.

Consequently, San Diego was the first European settlement in California. With the primary establishment of California, Costansó's active role in the province diminishes while that of other leaders, except Portolá, increases in importance. While Fray Junípero

Serra remained in San Diego to take care of the ill, Costansó accompanied Portolá in his unsuccessful attempt to locate Monterey Bay in 1769. Miguel Costansó, who would draw up plans for the Presidio and Mission of Monterey,[13] was appointed cosmographer of the first trek. His work in 1769 consisted of marking and mapping "the ports and lands that might be discovered, and at the port of Monterey to lay out the royal presidio that was to be founded."[14] Costansó did his work excellently. Keeping a superb account of the entire expedition which would later be published in his famous narrative on the expeditions to Alta California, Costansó was the first man to chart impressive and beautiful San Francisco Bay. The quality of his work is succinctly described in an article, "The Visual Knowledge of California to 1700," by Arda M. Haenszel.

> San Francisco Bay, of course, was not shown on any maps of the California coast until Costansó's map was published in 1771, although most of the other coastal features were extremely well known and fairly well shown much earlier. To this young and extremely talented engineer with the Portolá party fell the honor of adding the last and greatest harbor of all. And quite accurately he drew it. As with Kino, the Spanish here had an expert right on the spot.[15]

Costansó's talent and skill as a mapmaker was no accident. As a corpsman, Costansó necessarily possessed not only military knowledge, but also technical skill.[16] When Don Jorge Próspero, Marquis of Verboom, proposed a plan to Philip V in 1710 for the organization of a Corps of Spanish Engineers, he suggested that admittance into the new corps be dependent on several qualifications. Verboom insisted that candidates for the corps already be officers in the armed forces as much for necessary military knowledge and training as for the elite stature he designed the corps to have. Further, Verboom demanded that military engineers be trained especially in technical and scientific aptitudes in the Real Academia Militar de Matemáticas, which he established in Barcelona, modeled after the one in Brussels.[17]

By a royal decree of April 11, 1711, the Corps of Engineers of Spain was established on Verboom's plan, and with him as *Ingeniero General.* The first general ordinance of the corps was promulgated on July 4, 1718, and set down the basic organization of the corps that was to continue through the century. Administrative changes were implemented through royal order during the first half of the century, and a distinctive new general ordinance was published in 1768, and another, again in 1803.[18] A plan of 1749 called for the stationing of 110 military engineers in the Indies,[19] but shortly after his arrival in New Spain, Costansó was one of only eleven engineers in New Spain, the area of Spanish possessions in America that always received more engineers than any other.[20] By 1778, there were still no more than eleven engineers in New Spain, out of a total of fifty-six in all of Spanish Ultramar.[21] Despite elaborate suggestions and plans for augmentation of the corps in the Indies dated 1767, 1768, and 1778, by 1809 the number of engineers in New Spain (including Texas and Florida) still remained at eleven, out of a total of fifty-seven regular corpsmen.[22]

Costansó and his six fellow engineers who arrived in New Spain in 1764 with Villalba, formed the core of Spain's engineering delegation to New Spain. Because of the short number of engineers in the realm, and the demand for their skills, designation of a corpsman to accompany the Sacred Expedition is one more indication of the importance placed on the project by the Visitor General and the Crown. That Costansó was selected by Gálvez is indication of the confidence and esteem in which the young engineer was held.

Despite the praise showered on Costansó for his mapping of San Francisco Bay and his drawing of plans for the presidio of Monterey, his outstanding contribution to California during his stay rests in another area. Actually, it is as an historian and writer that he truly distinguished himself. His *Diario Histórico de los viages de mar, y tierra hechos al norte de la California* (Mexico, 1770), unlike the California diaries of other founders such as Junípero Serra,[23] Juan Crespi,[24] and Gaspar de Portolá,[25] is not merely a boring day by day chronicle or a ghost written memoir. Costansó's *Diario* is a valid historical account that reflects modern methodology. The diary contains background information to the occupation as well as the events themselves of the Sacred Expedition. Costansó wrote with balance, he avoided bias and trivia, and differing from other diarists, mastered grammatical Castilian. In brief, he is California's first true historian.

It is no wonder then that Zoeth Skinner Eldredge described Costansó's *Diario* as "the admirable narrative of Miguel Costansó, the engineer of the expedition,"[26] and that Hubert Howe Bancroft enumerated it first among works devoted exclusively to the founding of the province.[27] Additionally, Bancroft indirectly praised the quality of Costansó's work even more when he stated that "Crespi's diary, like that of Portolá, is a long, and, except in certain parts, a monotonous description of petty happenings not worth remembering."[28] J. Gregg Lane, editor of the Historical Society of Southern California, which published Crespi's *Diary* of the discovery of Vancouver Island, despite his Society's previous predilection for Crespi and for the friars, also demonstrated his appreciation of Costansó's work by writing that the name of Ensign Miguel Costansó . . . "will never become dim in the pages of our history because of his diary of the expedition."[29]

Despite his assigning due praise to Costansó, J. Gregg Lane was in error on two points. First, Costansó was scarcely ever anything but dim in written California history, especially in textbooks. Secondly, it would not be because of either his cartographical contributions or his historical writings that Costansó would merit recognition in California, but rather through his recommendations for populating California and his part in establishing the Villa de Branciforte, present-day Santa Cruz.

Actually, Costansó's work in populating California began with the expedition's failure to find Monterey in 1769. Costansó, according to Portolá's *Diario,* along with Pedro Fages and Fernando Rivera y Moncada, urged the commander to search farther north for Vizcaíno's Monterey.[30] Just what were the true roles that Costansó, Serra, and others played later in urging that San Diego be not abandoned after the first fruitless Monterey expedition returned is difficult to assess from the nature of the sources.[31] But that Serra's role appears to have been overstressed by some historians, especially by the hack romantics, is evident.

Charles E. Chapman, the authority on the founding of Alta California, propounds that the military, consisting of Portolá, Costansó, Fages and the reputedly timid Rivera y Moncada, along with the overdetermined Serra, were decided to hold California. Chapman, disagreeing with his colleague Bolton, reduces the stature of Serra and raises that of the military when he boldly states:

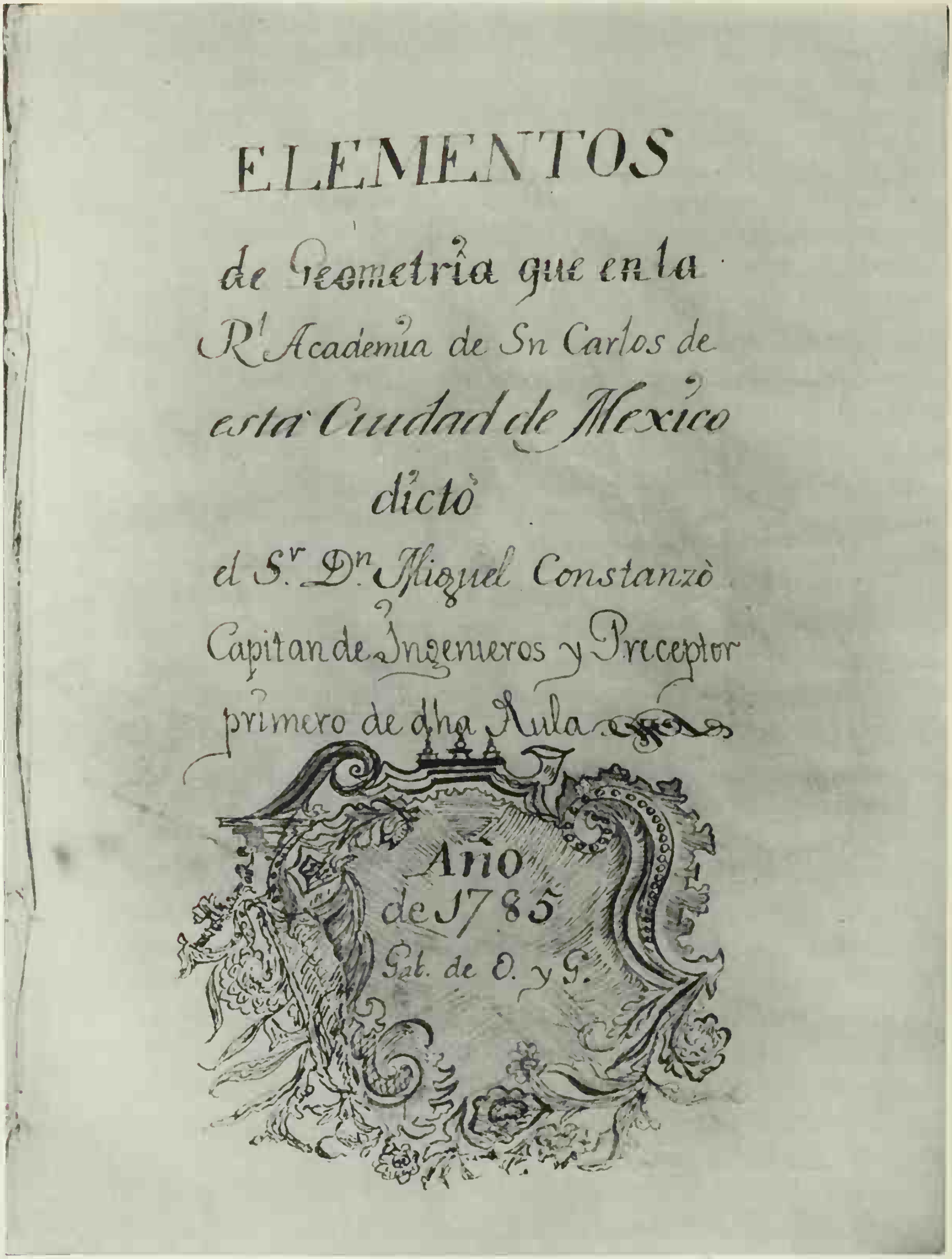
> A story has sprung up that Portolá might have abandoned Alta California but for Father Serra. The latter is said to have prevailed upon the commander

> to delay his departure, with the result that the *San Antonio* was sighted the very day before Portolá planned to leave. If this is true, then Serra is to be credited with having saved the Alta California establishments in the first hour of need. It seems probable, however, that it is an injustice to Portolá. There is no doubt that Serra wanted to stay, and that Portolá was not enthusiastic over the new country, but the commander in chief was a soldier whose every action . . . seems to show an intention to carry out his orders and hold the country to the last moment compatible with the safety of the forces under his command. . . . "The remainder of the expedition," decided the junta, . . . "was to clearly hold this important post".[32]

Although Costansó was only one member of the *junta* and he was not the expedition's commander, because of his previous relationship with Gálvez, he wielded great influence at San Diego. Thus, his advice should have had much more effect on Portolá than that of either Lieutenant Fages or Militia Captain Rivera y Moncada.

After the founding of Monterey, Costansó's influence upon the development of California would have to be felt mostly from outside the province. In 1770, shortly after the planting of permanent colonization, both Costansó and Portolá sailed for Mexico.[33] Portolá became governor of Puebla de los Angeles in Mexico in 1777, where he governed until 1784, and "was finally ordered to Spain where he died."[34] Costansó returned to Mexico where he began a long career in the capital, distinguishing himself as the unofficial director of civil architecture and of improvement in the enlightenment years of the later Spanish period.

Only twenty-three years old when he arrived in New Spain, Costansó spent the next one-half century laboring in the New World. He was a man completely dedicated to his work, as proved by the exhaustive list of his accomplishments. After his return from the Alta California expedition, Ingeniero Extraordinario Costansó was put in charge of construction of the Hospital General de San Andrés. In 1772 he began a project that took him eight years: the erection of a new building to house the Real Casa de Moneda.[35] By order of Viceroy Mayorga in 1779, he began work that lasted two and one-half years on the new powder factory in the pueblo of Santa Fe near the capital.[36] He directed the reconstruction of the burned powder factory at Chapultepec, drafted plans for and supervised the pavement and the leveling of Mexico, and gave advice on the drainage and water supply from Lake Chalco for the capital. Many public



ELEMENTOS
de Geometría que en la
Rl. Academia de Sn Carlos de
esta Ciudad de Mexico
dictó
el Sr. Dn. Miguel Constanzò
Capitan de Ingenieros y Preceptor
primero de dha Aula

Año
de 1785
Gat. de O. y G.

Courtesy of Porrúa, S. A.

Title page of Miguel Costansó's textbook on geometry that he used at the Academy of San Carlos where he was a professor.

works commissions were assigned to the talented engineer and architect. He designed a new tobacco factory, the botanical gardens, a cock-fighting arena, a house of mercy, fountains for the main plazas, and the Academy of San Carlos for the study of the fine arts where he became a professor of geometry.[37]

Costansó participated actively in planning for the defense of the realm during the period when the Spaniards believed England to be menacing New Spain. He surveyed and reported on the damage done to the harbor fortifications at Acapulco by an earthquake in 1776. His plan for a new pentagonal edifice and outworks was approved in 1777, but was altered slightly. Costansó's basic plan for Acapulco survived as the primary Pacific Coast defense.[38]

Throughout his career, viceroys and other officials consulted Costansó for his advice on various projects. He was even called on to investigate the massacre of the Alhóndiga de Guanajuato by the renegade secular priest, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla.[39]

In keeping with military regulations of the day, Costansó petitioned for permission to marry in 1776. The request was granted a little over a year later for the engineer to marry Doña Manuela de Aso y Otal, who was from a fine family in New Spain.[40] In Costansó's fifty-two years in the Corps of Engineers, he lived through the administrative and organizational changes from above that set the mold for the modern Spanish engineers. He rose in the ranks to the post of *mariscal de campo* and *cuartel maestre general* of the two military districts of New Spain. At his death on September 27, 1814, Costansó was *director subinspector* of the Corps of Engineers, one of fourteen men in the Indies holding this prestigious post, the highest attainable in the corps below the *ingeniero general* and *comandante general*.[41]

Although Costansó's major work took place in central Mexico, he continued from the capital, to contribute to the development of California. His first such duty was almost immediately after his arrival in Mexico, when he informed the Visitor General and the Viceroy of the successful occupation of Alta California.

In 1772 Costansó once more was called upon for his expert advice on California matters. Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa received a petition from Juan Bautista de Anza for permission to open a route from Sonora to Alta California, the long-cherished dream of the Jesuits. Bucareli, in his usual methodical manner, carefully consulted his advisors in the capital and requested information from any expert witness who happened to be available.[42] Herbert E. Bolton describes the role Costansó played:

> Already three months had passed when in August Bucareli referred Anza's proposal to Miguel Costansó, the brilliant young engineer who had been with Portolá in New California, where he had designed presidios and drawn beautiful maps. Having left California with Portolá he was now in Mexico City.
>
> Ten days later Costansó replied with characteristic clearness. His views in the case summed up the whole situation. Judging from the longitudes, Costansó concluded that by air line it was a hundred and eighty leagues from Tubac to San Diego. His estimate was not far from correct. . . .
>
> The proposed journey Costansó considered feasible. The mountains were rough, but . . . since the Indians crossed them, Spaniards should be able to do likewise. . . .
>
> Of the utility of exploration Costansó had no shadow of a doubt. The new settlements planted by Portolá as such were at stake. The barren Peninsula would give no aid. The Gulf was treacherous, and the land route from Loreto to San Diego long and arduous. The sea voyage from San Blas was difficult, and the vessels too small to carry the families of the colonists. As a consequence the New California soldiers were condemned to "perpetual and involuntary celibacy . . ."[43]

Fortuitously for Anza's name and California's future, the plan was adopted, and the presidio captain made two memorable treks in 1774 and 1775. Some two hundred colonists from Sonora and Sinaloa journeyed with Anza to California and founded the presidio of San Francisco in 1776. Anza's plan, incidentally, as Chapman points out, was not activated by Serra, as Richman would have it, but rather through Costansó and other advisors, but especially by Bucareli.[44]

Within a year of Anza's second trek, Bucareli once again consulted Costansó concerning another California problem: the silting in of San Blas harbor. In this case Costansó appears to have had little influence. Despite participation in two rounds of consultation and lengthy, heated controversy, Costansó's advice on San Blas went unheeded. Agreeing with the distinguished Ignacio Arteaga of Pacific Northwest Coast navigation fame, Costansó recommended that the port be transferred elsewhere. Unsupported in their professional judgment by the *fiscal* of the *audiencia* and by Engineer Miguel del Corral, Costansó's and Arteaga's suggestions were ignored. The Spaniards continued to use the worst port on the Mexican West Coast for supplying California.[45]

Finally, concerning settlement of California by civilized non-Spaniards — *gente de razón* — Costansó was again consulted and once again made most sagacious recommendations. This occupation by Mexican settlers was to become an extremely delicate situation. Although Father President Junípero Serra wrote that he approved of "introducing towns for Spaniards" after the Indians became civilized,[46] he and fellow Fernandinos never fully supported lay colonization in their efforts and dreams. Every petition, every movement, and every establishment of a pueblo of *gente de razón* by governmental officials was either criticized or directly opposed by the friars.[47] They zealously sought to protect the California Indian and also, perhaps, to maintain their own influence in the province.[48]

Importing settlers, who later in the Mexican period may have helped to stem United States imperialism, became an accentuated problem after the founding of pueblos San José and Los Angeles. These settlements failed to prosper either in material production or in population growth. Consequently, in 1787, Governor Pedro Fages "proposed that artisans imprisoned in Mexico and Guadalajara should have their sentence commuted to exile in California on condition of working out their term at the presidios or missions, and subsequently remaining as settlers."[49] No steps were decisively taken until a contractual plan was considered later in the 1790's.[50] As might be expected, Miguel Costansó was consulted on the proposal. Costansó's recommendations, a copy of which is located at the Bancroft Library, reveal that able mind and keen foresight that distinguished this historically neglected man. Costansó suggested that each artisan instructor should remain teaching the Indians for at least four or five years and that each should receive salary and rations proportionate to the type of work involved and the size of his family. Costansó recommended that after an instructor had completed his term of duty, he should remain in California, receiving land, cattle, and other colonizing materials as inducement to settle permanently. Families should be sent to California with the instructors to avoid difficulty in regulating their conduct, and at the same time he encouraged marriage among the elegibles, thereby increasing population growth in the province.[51]

From Costansó's and other officials' recommendations, a plan was formulated.[52] About "twenty artisan instructors were sent to California, chiefly in 1792 and 1795, a few of whom remained permanently as settlers, but most retired on expiration of their contracts before 1800."[53] So many returned because the friars, pleading poverty, insisted that instructors work for almost nothing and the teacher-colonists thereby came to believe that they were being exploited — a situation that has at times existed between the California laity and clergy.[54] Consequently, the friar's actions frustrated Costansó's and the Viceroy's plan for population of the province with people from Mexico.

This frustration came at an extremely critical period in the history of New Spain and of California. Costansó's recommendations for populating the province demonstrated his foresight in diagnosing the problems facing the province and New Spain. At this same time, the British were threatening underpopulated Alta California.[55] Apparently, civil government officials recognized the British threat and the dire need to strengthen California. In September of 1793 the Viceroy, the Marquis of Branciforte, decreed that he receive recommendations from experts for strengthening the presidios of Alta California. Costansó, as one of the experts consulted in this matter, submitted his *Informe* on October 17, 1794. In addition to stating that troops already in California were of use only for civilizing the Indians, that a new corps had to be formed for garrisoning the presidios, and that additional batteries were needed; he recognized, and emphasized the urgency of populating the province.[56]

Unlike the Franciscans, and especially the late President Junípero Serra, Costansó condemned the possession by individuals or Church of immense, unpopulated sections of land. And, perhaps more humanitarian and more Christian-like, Costansó did not discriminate against the *gente de razón.* Instead of segregating Indians and the *gente de razón,* he believed that the province would be strengthened if *gente de razón* intermingled with natives. Unfortunately, the ideas of this great engineer — a man who designed fortifications, beautiful churches, and civil monuments; who helped engineer the drainage and water supply of Mexico City and who contributed to the establishment of ports; and who served in the primary planning of the establishment of Alta California — unfortunately, many of his noble ideas were rejected by powerful and dedicated, but inelastic friars whose actions did not truly help the Indian to survive and integrate. Even more unfortunate, however, is that not only were many of his ideas rejected, but that they have not been adequately recorded by historians. Indeed, an historical tragedy would have been perpetuated by the neglect of such a distinguished thinker and builder as Miguel Costansó, California's first historian, had not Fr. Francis Guest, O.F.M., delineated the former's role in the founding of the Villa de Branciforte in 1797.[57]

This article has been written as an introduction to the California Writings of Engineer Costansó. In the next issue will appear the previously untranslated "Report of Don Miguel Costansó to the Viceroy, the Marquis de Branciforte, on the Plan for Strengthening the Presidios of New California, 1794."

## NOTES

1. It is impossible to determine the educational level of the Franciscans because no course of study for their seminary work has been found or published. Judging from the writings and journals of the Majorcan priests, it does not appear that they received a thorough liberal arts education.

2. AGI, *México* 1515; AGN, *Historia* 568; AGS, *Guerra Moderna* 7272. Although Costansó is almost always referred to as an ensign (*alférez*) upon his arrival in New Spain in published sources and documents related to the founding of Alta California, and is also called *alférez* in "Destinos dela tropa de la Expedic. del Then. Gral. D. Juan de Villalba," September 20, 1764, AGI, *Contratácion* 5507; his proper rank was *subteniente*. In a royal decree of October 19, 1756, ranks and classes for members of the Corps of Engineers were prescribed, and the class of *ingeniero delineador* was to have the rank of *subteniente*, which was Costansó's status as of his entrance into the corps in 1762. The royal decree appears in José Antonio Portugués, *Colección General de las Ordenanzas Militares, sus inovaciones y aditamentos* (Madrid, by royal order, 1764), VI, 803.

3. Nicolás de Lafora, *Relación del viaje que hizo a los presidios internos situados en la frontera de América Septentrional perteneciente al Rey de España (1766-1768)*, ed. by Vito Alessio Robles (México. 1939). p. 15.

4. AGN, *Historia* 568; AGN, *Indiferente de Guerra* 236.

5. Luis Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de Nueva España* (Sevilla, 1964), Map No. 105, f.p. 176, and p. 541; José Antonio Calderón Quijano, "Ingenieros Militares en Nueva España," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, VI, No. 19, 31-34.

6. Miguel Costansó, *Diario histórico de los viages de mar, y tierra hechos al norte de la California de orden del Excelentísimo Señor Marques de Croix, Virrey, Governador, y Capitán General de la Nueva España: y por dirección del*

*Illustrisimo Señor D. Joseph de Gálvez, del Consejo y Cámara de S.M. en el Supremo de Indias, Intendente de Exercito, Visitador General de Este Reyno* (México, 1770), p. 9; "Reporte de la Junta, en que se trató de la expedición de Monterey por Mar, y Tierra," San Blas, May 16, 1768, MS, Huntington Library, GA 419; Herbert I. Priestly, *José de Gálvez; Visitor General of New Spain, 1765-1171* (Berkeley, 1916), p. 248.

7. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884), I., 115-116.

8. Francisco Palou to the Guardian and College of the San Francisco, Tepic, October 12, 1767, Academy of American Franciscan History (AAFH); Palou to the Guardian and Council of the College of San Fernando, Guadalajara, October 25, 1767, AAFH; Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (Santa Barbara, 1929), I, 289-301.

9. Priestly, *José de Gálvez*, p. 254; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, I, 289-291, ignores the contribution of the *junta*.

10. Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas*, (Glendale, 1967), p. 62.

11. Charles E. Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, (New York, 1916) p. 86; Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas*, p. 62 n; Calderón Quijano, "Ingenieros," p. 31.

12. Palou to Father Guardian, San Javier Biaundo, December 10, 1768, AAFH; Palou to Father Guardian, Loreto, March 4, 1769, AAFH; Palou to Father Guardian, Loreto, April 16, 1769, AAFH; Francisco Palou, O.F.M., *Historical Memoirs of New California*, ed. by Herbert Eugene Bolton (Berkeley, 1926), I, 30-78; Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *The Life and Times of Junípero Serra, O.F.M.* (Washington, 1959), I, 266-269; Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York, 1921), pp. 219-223.

13. Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, II, 293.

14. Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, II, 14.

15. *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVI (September, 1957), 218.

16. Costansó's cartographical precision is demonstrated in three maps he constructed relating to the Alta California expedition: "Plano de la Costa del Sur Correxido hasta la Canal de Santa Barbara en el ano de 1769," showing the California coast from San Lucas north to Cape Mendocino, executed in watercolor; "Carta reducida del Oceano Asiático nombrado por los Navegantes Mar del Sur, que comprehende la Costa Oriental, y Occidental de la Peninsula de California" (1770), including 139 place names and much detail; and "Plano del Fondeadero, or Surgidero de la Bahia, y Puerto de Monterey, situado por 36 grados, y 40 minutos de Latitud Norte, y por 249 grados 36 minutos de Longitud, contados desde el Meridiano de Tenerife," watercolor, with superb representation of terrain. The first of these three, although not signed, is certainly

Costansó's work, by handwriting and style. All three are in the Servicio Geógráfico del Ejército, Madrid; and reproduced in *Cartografía de Ultramar* (Madrid, 1957), Carpeta II.

17. *Estudio Histórico del Cuerpo de Ingenieros del Ejército,* (Madrid, 1911), I, 11-12.

18. Portugués, *Colección, passim.; Ordenanzas de S.M. para el servicio del Cuerpo de Ingenieros en Guarnición, y Campaña* (Madrid, 1768); *Ordenanza que S.M. manda observar en el servicio del Real Cuerpo de Ingenieros* (Madrid, 1803).

19. *Compendio histórico publicado al cumplirse el Segundo Centenario de la creación del Cuerpo y dedicado a sus clases e individuos de tropa* (Segunda edicion; Madrid, 1918), p. 33.

20. AGN, *Indiferente de Guerra* 236.

21. AGS, *Guerra Moderna* 3002.

22. AGS, *Guerra Moderna* 2998, 3002; "Lista general de los oficiales que componen el Real Cuerpo de Ingenieros del Ejército en España, y División de Indias," *Memorial de Ingenieros del Ejercito,* V (Mayo, 1908), 347-351.

23. "Diario de la Expedición . . . desde Loreto a San Diego . . . ," in Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., ed., *Writings of Junípero Serra* (Washington, 1955), I. 38-123.

24. Bancroft, *History of California,* I., 141; "Journey of the Land Expedition from San Diego to Monterey," Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California,* II., 109-260.

25. See "Diario del viage que haze por tierra D.N Gaspar Portolá . . . ," *Academy of Pacific Coast History: Publications,* I., 31-89.

26. Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, *History of California* (New York, 1915) I., 174.

27. Bancroft, *History of California,* I., 38.

28. Bancroft, *History of California,* I., 141.

29. J. Gregg Lane, "Annals of Los Angeles," *The California Historical Society Quarterly,* XIII (September, 1934), 198.

30. Portolá, "Diario del viage," *APCH: Publications,* I., 84-89.

31. Costansó, "Diario Histórico," *APCH: Publications,* I., 151-157; Chapman, *The History of California,* p. 227.

32. Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California,* p. 99.

33. Palou, *Historical Memoirs of New California,* II., 299.

34. Bancroft, *History of California,* IV., 783, states that he became governor of Puebla nine years after he left California. This should be in 1779.

Rockwell D. Hunt, *California's Stately Hall of Fame* (Stockton, 1950, p. 43), gives 1777 as the date of his inauguration as governor.

35. AGI, *Mexico* 2472; AGN, *Historia* 568.

36. AGN, *Virreyes* 142.

37. AGI, *Mexico* 1525 and 2472; AGN, *Historia* 477, *Casa de Moneda* 229, *Obras Públicas* 2, 5, 6, and 36, *Real Hacienda*, 218, *Provincias Internas* 121, and *Ayuntamiento* 202; AGM, *Guerra Moderna* 7272; Ernesto de la Torre, ed., *Instrucción Reservada que dió el Virrey don Miguel de Azanza a su sucesor don Félix de Marquina* (México, 1960), p. 96; Miguel Constanzó, "Elementos de Geometría," 1785, MS, José Porrúa Turanzas Editorial.

38. María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spínola, María Luísa Rodríguez Baena and Concepción Pajabon Parody, *Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, Virrey de Nueva España* (Sevilla, 1967), pp. 413-415.

39. *Pública Vindicación del Ilustre Ayuntamiento de Santa Fé de Guanajuato* (México, 1960), p. 70; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1886), IV, 134 n.

40. AGM (Segovia), *Expediente personal* 1813; AGN, *Historia* 568.

41. AGM (Segovia), *Expediente personal* 1813; "Lista general de los oficiales," *Memorial de Ingenieros*, p. 347.

42. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), I, 45-50.

43. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions*, I, 50-51; Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, p. 156.

44. Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, p. 159; Irving Berdine Richman, *California under Spain and Mexico, 1535-1847* (New York, 1965), pp. 96-104; Chapman, *A History of California*, pp. 297-298.

45. Bobb, *The Viceregency of Antonio María Bucareli* (Austin, 1962), pp. 169-171; Thurman, *San Blas*, pp. 223-240.

46. Junípero Serra to Teodoro de Croix, Monterey, August 22, 1778, *Writings of Junipero Serra*, III., 254.

47. Manuel P. Servín, "The Secularization of the California Missions: A Reappraisal," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLVII (June, 1965), 133-149.

48. *Ibid.*

49. Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 605.

50. Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 615.

51. "Copia de las condiciones propuestas á S.E. por el Ingeniero 2° Miguel Costanzo p.ª las contratas de artesanos . . . ," MS, Bancroft Library, CA-55.

52. "Conde de Revilla Gigedo al Gobernador de Calif.ª" MS, Bancroft Library, CA-55; Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 615.

53. Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 615.

54. Bancroft, *History of California,* I, 616.

55. Florian Francis Guest, "The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte," *CHSQ,* XLI (March, 1962), 29-32.

56. "Informe de Sor D. Miguel Costanso al Emo Sor Virrey de Branciforte sobre el proyecto de fortificar los presidios de la N. California," Mexico, 17 de Octubre de 1794, Bancroft Library, M-M 401.

57. Guest, "The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte," *passim.*

# Chinatowns in the Delta: The Chinese in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, 1870-1960

*By* George Chu

A century ago, Chinese penetrated all parts of California. They mined for gold in the Mother Lode, and laid the tracks for the Transcontinental Railroad in the High Sierra. But more importantly, they furnished most of the "squat labor" for the farms of the fertile Central Valley, making California's agriculture possible in the nineteenth century. By 1900, however, they were gone from almost all rural areas. Anti-Chinese riots throughout the state in the mid-1880's had driven them away from small towns into the comparative refuge of large-city Chinatowns; the exclusion laws of 1882 and 1892 had not only excluded Chinese immigration from California, but in effect, had stopped the agricultural labor supply. As those Chinese already in the fields died or returned to China, the operators of California's giant farms turned to other races to fill the labor vacuum — first Japanese, later Hindus, Filipinos, and Mexicans.[1] In 1960, a little over 96 percent of the Chinese in the state lived in cities.[2] Except for one small group in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, the Chinese in California, farmers for generations in China, had become an urban people.

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Part of this article is based on personal interviews and observations in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta over a three month period during the winter of 1966. Many people in the Delta, most of whom requested anonymity, have made this paper possible. I especially wish to thank Mr. Ardle Pierce, editor of the *River News-Herald,* for giving me access to his files of the *Sacramento River News,* the *River News,* and the *Isleton Journal.* Prof. Stanford M. Lyman, now in the Department of Sociology at the University of Nevada, Reno, offered many helpful suggestions and comments on the manuscript. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for all lapses in scholarship and prose.

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The Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, one of the richest agricultural areas in California, occupies a triangular, sea-level depression in the central Coast Range. Unlike most deltas, which broaden seaward, the compound delta of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers converges to a single outlet. The entire drainage from the Central Valley funnels through this opening into a series of bays and out the Golden Gate to the Pacific Ocean. Both rivers branch off into many distributaries on entering the delta basin, though most of the Sacramento River manages to stay in a single channel on the northern side of the triangle.[3] Along its banks, about halfway between Sacramento and the outlet near Antioch, are a number of Chinatowns. They represent the last concentration of Chinese in rural California.

A single crop, asparagus, delayed the urbanization of the Chinese in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta by about fifty years. When other Chinese were leaving farms in the Central Valley, a new wave of immigrants invaded the Delta, drawn by the magnet of asparagus. When Chinatowns were disappearing from small towns throughout the state, old Chinatowns on the Sacramento were being rebuilt, and a new one was founded.

Why one vegetable should account for the survival of Chinese communities on the Sacramento has to do with the peculiar organization of agriculture in the Delta. Everything that happened to California agriculture — land monopolization, a system of land tenancy comparable with feudal European traditions, the dependence on a succession of laborers who have always been landless, migratory, and nonwhite — took place here. But in addition, Delta agriculture developed a unique twist of its own. Despite its diversity of races, the Delta is no melting pot. Instead, it produced the ultimate discrimination: the specialization of races in separate, well-defined jobs. Ironically, the Chinese themselves helped to shape the institutions that later forced them to leave the Delta.

## I

Forty-niners taking the water route up the Sacramento to the gold fields found the Delta a tidal swamp, malarial, overgrown with tule, the banks along its many miles of waterways covered with dense stands of willow and oak. High tides at the outlet into Suisun Bay backed water over half the delta basin; river floods, especially during times of extreme tides and westerly winds, submerged it entirely.[4] Early "tule hoppers" — American farmers who settled the natural levees along main water highways — tried to keep back flood waters by building small, so-called "shoestring" levees, but these never kept out much more than high tides. In 1852 and 1853, one visionary landowner constructed twelve miles of levee on the northern end of Grand Island in an impressive, but futile, attempt to save his fields from flooding. Flood waters simply came in from the southern end of the island.[5]

This farmer was one of the first to use Chinese in levee building, employing an international crew of Chinese, Indian, and Hawaiian laborers for the construction of his levee,[6] but here again, he was ahead of his time. The main force of Chinese levee workers did not come to the Delta until around 1868, when county supervisors organized reclamation districts and started major projects.[7] In that year also, the state removed the acreage limit (first 320 acres, later 640 acres) on ownership of swamp and overflowed lands. As a result, large tracts of land rapidly came under the control of land agents and corporations. George D. Roberts, a director of the Tide Land Reclamation Company, somehow acquired 250,000 acres between 1868 and 1871.[8] Another speculator took up a tract of land embracing four townships.[9] A shocked legislature reimposed the 640-acre limit in 1874, but by then, it was too late — all the land was gone. Reclamation became the main concern of the corporations, whose formation and continued existence depended on the availability of laborers willing to work in the malarial swamps for small wages.[10] The Chinese fitted these requirements nicely.

The use of Chinese laborers for the reclamation of the "tule lands" had been proposed as early as 1852.[11] At that time, however, they were up at the gold mines, like almost everyone else. Angry white miners drove them away from the richest mining districts in the mid-fifties, and the abandoned surface mines they inherited began to play out by the early 1860's, even for the meticulous Chinese miners. Construction work on the Transcontinental Railroad absorbed their energies for a time, but by the late sixties, the Chinese were on the labor market.[12]

Besides being numerous and not too particular about working conditions, the Chinese offered a special advantage: they worked under a contract system for Chinese "bosses." Recruiting of individuals was unnecessary: the employer negotiated directly with the bosses, who did all the hiring and firing. No troublesome bookkeeping was involved for the employer: the bosses kept the accounts of each man, collected their wages as the work progressed, and paid them after deducting for debts. And since the contractors were merchants and businessmen making their profit from the privilege of supplying the men, the employer was not faced with the problem of boarding the workers. The Chinese lived in "camps" with their own cooks, the bosses furnishing all their requirements. The employer supplied only the tools needed for work; sometimes not even that was necessary.[13]

Under the supervision of the bosses, the Chinese went to work. Using only shovels and wheelbarrows, working in waist-deep water, they dammed sloughs, cut drainage ditches, built floodgates, and piled up levees. Some two hundred Chinese built forty-nine miles of levee around Sherman Island.[14] The same number worked on Twitchell and Brannan islands for the Tide Land Reclamation Company.[15] Grand Island was at last fully enclosed with a levee twenty-nine-and-one-half miles long.[16] In strengthening the alluvial natural levees, the method was simply shovelling and dumping. In peat areas, particularly the San Joaquin section of the Delta, the Chinese cut blocks of peat from the ground, partially dried them in the sun, laid two parallel walls with the blocks, and filled the interior with sand from wheelbarrows.[17] Since wages were figured from the cubic yards of dirt moved, the bosses scrambled over the levees measuring the work completed, sometimes correcting the engineer's calculations.[18]

Ethnic specialization in the Delta began, innocently enough, with the introduction of the Fresno scraper, a horse-drawn drag shovel, in levee work. The Chinese were unfamiliar with the animals, although they were credited with the invention of "tule shoes," a snowshoe-like contraption designed to keep the horses from sinking into the marshy ground. Moreover, they were too small to handle the heavy scrapers, which had to be manhandled around tree stumps.

White drifters, Irish and Swedes, living in separate camps from the Orientals, did the scraper work.[19]

The finished levees were usually from three to five feet high, ten to fifteen feet wide at the base, five feet wide at the crest, and as many miles long as it took to encircle an island.[20] Despite these impressive dimensions, the levees built by the Chinese eroded easily and gave way before minor floods. Furthermore, Chinese hand labor could not keep up with a river level that rose continuously — deposits of sediment from hydraulic mining upriver in the Sierra foothills raised the river bed, and the completed levees prevented the normal overflow of water upon bottom lands. The permanently reclaimed Delta, with levees wide enough for automobile traffic along their tops, and with rivers flowing above the level of the land, was only made possible with the use of machinery. The increasing use of clamshell dredges and mechanical ditchers after 1876 made the wheelbarrow brigades obsolete, although the Chinese were still used in places beyond the reach of the giant machines.[21]

No one, not even the Chinese now living in the Delta, knows who the levee builders were, or whether any of them ever stayed to farm the land they had helped reclaim. The bosses recruited them from Chinatown boarding houses in Sacramento, Stockton, and San Francisco.[22] When the job was finished, the workers probably returned to the city to await other contracts. By the 1890's, their work was done, and the Chinese levee builders left the Delta, their names lost to history.

## II

Levees completed and fields drained, the reclamation operators leased the land to tenant farmers, leasing being much more profitable than subdividing and selling. Even before the coming of the speculators, however, farm tenantry in the Delta was already a way of life. In the early 1860's, Chinese had drifted into the Delta to work in the fruit orchards that, at this time, formed a continuous strip along the banks of the Sacramento from Freeport to Isleton.[23] Before long, they were leasing ranches of their own, some of them growing truck vegetables, including all sweet potatoes on the market.[24] Leasing was more convenient, more profitable, and less bother for the landlords, who had no desire to live in the supposedly miasma-filled Delta. Besides, the Chinese bosses controlled the labor supply by the 1870's; it was impossible to get help otherwise. By 1880, practically all the best lands were under lease.[25]

The Chinese composed the predominant race of tenants, as well as the predominant race of laborers. Portuguese from the Azores and Italians ran a close second. The Orientals and the southern Europeans lived in the unhealthy, newly reclaimed areas; the "northern Europeans" stayed on the high ground, away from the levees, where a more "normal" type of farming prevailed. The whites leasing from the reclamation companies soon tired of "living behind a levee" and subleased to Chinese.[26] At any rate, it made no difference who farmed the land. Under the crop share system, the most common arrangement, the tenant became little more than an employee growing crops on contract. The tenant got a share of the crop; the owner furnished horses and implements, maintained the levees, and marketed the crops. In addition, the owner specified the crops to be grown.[27]

The reclamation companies had not invented the farm tenancy system, but they developed it to a high degree. Maximum profits called for maximum crops: the operating premise was that each race grew certain crops best. Thus, Portuguese grew most of the truck vegetables; Italians raised beans and barley; Chinese worked on the fruit ranches or raised potatoes and onions; Japanese, who came in the 1890's, also specialized in potatoes and onions, as well as celery, asparagus (a minor crop before 1900), and sugar beets.[28] Each island was divided into camps, each camp — and race — growing a different crop. On the camps, the tenants lived in dilapidated frame houses, built in two stories to give the occupants some place of refuge during floods.[29]

Rotation of crops meant rotating the tenant.[30] Italians and barley always followed Chinese and potatoes. Complete changes of race on an island were common. Italians had once raised beans on Grand Island. Then asparagus became profitable, and Orientals moved in for the crop, displacing the Italians, who moved away to the San Joaquin, presumably to grow more beans.[31] The whole system, according to one contemporary writer, required either "a versatile tenant, or a year-to-year lease."[32] Not trusting the versatility of tenants, the landowners insisted on nonrenewable yearly leases.

The Chinese carried crop specialization one step further. Chinese from one district in China, Chungshan District, specialized in orchard work; Chinese from another district, the so-called "Sze Yaps" from Toishan District, grew the potatoes and onions.[33]

The Chinese in California are people of another drainage basin: the Pearl River Delta in Kwangtung Province in southeastern China. An exodus of Chinese from the coastal provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung began in the middle of the nineteenth century, triggered in part by a population explosion that had tipped the delicate balance between land and man in China. Apparently because of their proximity to seaports, and because of their traditions of travel along maritime trade routes to Southeast Asia, only Chinese from these two provinces migrated overseas. Practically all of the Fukienese and most of the Kwangtungnese who emigrated went to Southeast Asia.[34] A small part of the total flow of refugees landed in California, attracted by the discovery of gold in 1848. All of these originated from the delta formed by the West, North, and Pearl rivers near Canton.[35]

Kwangtung Province is politically subdivided into districts, but a more real division is the language. Although most of the people speak Cantonese, local variations in pronounciation are so great as to almost constitute separate dialects. The Cantonese spoken in Canton City is the arbitrarily chosen "standard." The people of Chungshan District, about thirty miles south of the provincial capital, speak a Cantonese closely resembling the city standard. On the other hand, the speech of the Sze Yaps is almost totally incomprehensible to the city man. They live in four districts adjoining Chungshan District to the west. Hence, the name "Sze Yap" — "Four Districts" — for this speech group. The Sze Yaps make up the bulk of Chinese immigrants to California. Except in the Sacramento River Delta, Chungshan people have always been a minority in Chinese communities in the continental United States.

This, then, was the situation on the Sacramento River in the 1880's. Travellers down the river saw squalid waterside Chinatowns spaced every hundred yards or so.[36] Chungshan Chinese were firmly entrenched upriver in the fruit district, with Courtland at its center. Further downstream, around Rio Vista, the Sze Yaps had their potato patches. People from a one-clan village in Toishan District comprised most of the residents of Rio Vista's Chinatown. When news spread by word-of-mouth of fortunes to be made on the Sacramento River, a few Chinese from several villages near this single-clan village in China joined the Toy clan in Rio Vista.[37]

In the nineties, the number of Chinese in the Delta decreased sharply. When no more Chinese came to take the place of those returning home to China, California farmers finally felt the effects of the Chinese exclusion law of 1882. In late 1890, Rio Vista's *Sacramento River News* gloomily predicted that all Chinese would be gone from the river within a few years.[38] Nevertheless, the river Chinatowns remained in existence, housing some of the Japanese laborers being recruited to replace the Chinese. The Chinese population of some of the Chinatowns even increased during the mid-nineties. In 1894, the same newspaper complained that tong hatchetmen were using Isleton's Chinese quarter as a temporary refuge from police raids in San Francisco and other cities.[39] The Chinese were building a joss house,[40] though what connection this had with the hatchetmen was not explained. Outside of these brief periods of excitement, the nineties passed slowly. Potatoes declined in importance in the Sacramento River districts when the soil became too diseased for this crop, and potato farming gradually shifted over to the San Joaquin section of the Delta. When the canning process for asparagus was improved, however, this period of relative inactivity suddenly came to an end.[41]

## III

Overnight, asparagus became the money-making crop on the Sacramento. Asparagus canneries sprang up in Rio Vista, Isleton, Walnut Grove, and other river towns; the acreage given over to asparagus increased yearly from around 1900 to the 1920's. Isleton and Walnut Grove, both stagnating in the nineteenth century when river traffic took the shortcut through Steamboat Slough and bypassed them, came to life.

The Chinese returned to the Delta, some of them descendants of those who had farmed here in the 1880's, but most of them newcomers. The 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco, which destroyed its Chinatown, provided a share of the new immigrants.[42] According to local legend, Sun Yatsen, a native of Chungshan District, once visited Courtland on one of his trips to America to enlist support from the overseas Chinese for the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty in China. If so, the Father of the Chinese Republic indirectly caused another wave of Chinese immigration to California and to the Delta, when refugees fled the chaos in Kwangtung Province following the 1911 Revolution.[43] It was true that the Chinese were not coming in as great numbers as before: the exclusion laws had stopped almost all legal ways for them to enter the country, and many were illegal immigrants. Still, they were especially welcomed by Delta growers, who had found Japanese labor a disappointment.[44]

The Oriental quarters of Walnut Grove and Isleton swelled as Chinese, Japanese, and later, Hindus, came to work on asparagus. Unlike Courtland and Rio Vista, which had a more or less permanent population of fruit workers or potato farmers, the population in Isleton and Walnut Grove was transient. Few workers stayed in town for more than a few weeks at a time before Chinese and Japanese bosses distributed them to areas where labor was needed. The only permanent residents were the bosses, who made up most of the merchant class.[45]

One more word should be said about the boss system. By this time, it had become traditional, absolutely essential for the functioning of Delta agriculture. The Japanese, Hindus, Filipinos, and Mexicans who followed the Chinese — all worked under boss or *patrón* systems of their own, but none of these were as highly developed as the Chinese contract system. No one in the Delta asked what was wrong with it; few wondered where the bosses got their laborers or how they controlled them.

The bosses were the local representatives of a system of control that touched the life of almost every Chinese in nineteenth century California, from the gold mines of the Mother Lode to the Transcontinental Railroad in the Sierra Nevada, from the wheat fields of the northern Sacramento Valley to the tule lands of the Delta. In debt to Chinese merchants and labor brokers who advanced him his passage money, the Chinese sojourner came under the influence of the system as soon as he stepped on the boat to California. It was voluntary in the sense that no one told him to get on the boat in the first place, but outside of this, it was in many ways similar to the notorious coolie trade to Peru and the West Indies. The system of control extended through a complicated network of merchant and district associations, clan organizations, and secret societies to the bosses in the field. Enthusiastically welcomed by white employers as the "perfect organization of labor," expounded by Chinese entrepreneurs as a paternal, benevolent institution, the system put the Chinese to work under debt bondage. Far from home in a hostile land, dependent on those of his countrymen who could speak the language, the laborer submitted to the system with the patient realization that things were infinitely worse in China. The system fed and sheltered him, determined when and where he would work, collected and paid him his wages, conducted gambling halls, brothels, and opium parlors, and took his wages back again. And when he became too old for work, it put him in poorhouses, and shipped his bones back to China when he died.[46]

The system had gradually disappeared in other parts of California when the Chinese became more mobile. In the Delta, however, because it was so much a part of agricultural organization, some of the more unpleasant aspects of the system survived well into the twentieth century. This was the era of the "wide-open towns," which Delta residents remember with nostalgia. The system could work only if the Chinese was perpetually in debt, so brothels and gambling halls, as well as poorhouses, operated for his benefit. Opium and its derivatives, morphine and heroin, were readily available. Some Chinese tried to get away from the system by banding together into potato "syndicates,"[47] and hired themselves out directly, but with the asparagus boom, the boss system continued. Six asparagus canneries operated between Courtland and the mouth of the Sacramento around 1910, and one Chinese firm contracted for the canning work and supplied all the Chinese employees.[48]

The river Chinatowns flourished as merchants, restaurant operators, gamblers, and others moved in to profit from the asparagus boom. Walnut Grove became a way station on the opium run to Sacramento.[49] At some indeterminate time, perhaps in the nineties, the

Bing Kong Tong, one of the more militant secret societies in California, established itself in Isleton and Walnut Grove; the branch in Walnut Grove was supposedly the largest on the Pacific Coast.[50] Though no Chinese speaks about this organization, the Bing Kong's connection with gambling and narcotics at this time would appear likely, since they were then engaged in similar activities in San Francisco and Sacramento.[51]

In 1915, the last Delta town, a completely Chinese village, was founded. Fires repeatedly plagued the river Chinatowns. Any fires started in one house of the packed, wooden communities inevitably destroyed the entire block of buildings. A fire in October burned down Walnut Grove's Chinatown,[52] and some of its Chinese moved about a mile upriver to a place called Lockeport, apparently little more than a boat landing with a few packing and storage sheds. They received little attention, all the publicity going to the new Chinatown being built in Walnut Grove. It was some years before newspapers mentioned the existence of Chinese at Lockeport, or as it was later called, Locke. The Chinese who moved to Locke were dissatisfied with the policies of the owners of the land on which Walnut Grove's Chinatown stood,[53] but evidently, district loyalties were also involved. Before the fire, both Sze Yap and Chungshan Chinese lived in Walnut Grove. Only Chungshan Chinese moved to Locke, however; no Sze Yap has ever lived there.

Locke had a missionary center in the 1920's and thirties.[54] According to the missionaries, Albert Schweitzer had buried himself in the moral blackness of Africa, but here, twenty-five miles south of Sacramento, was a community where "vice and degradation [were just as] disgustingly apparent." Locke was one-half a mile square, with sixty-five houses and eight brothels with white prostitutes. The population of about six hundred had "only thirty-one Christians." The missionaries had poor luck; after ten years, only four boys could be persuaded to attend the mission school. Then in 1929, "the Chinese leaders developed a sudden antagonism to the Center and its workers and protested against the Christian influence by opening a joss house. The attendants brought out a ceremonial lion of wood, paper and silk and paraded with it through the alleys of the village. Chinese brothel women from another town, dressed in red satin with gold braid trimmings, walked in the rear of the procession. This demonstration made a profound impression upon the boys and the work of winning them had to be started over again." The missionaries somewhat uncharitably condemned the men of the town for their indifference, for their use of women, sometimes with babies strapped to their backs, to pull plows, and for their open practice of polygamy. Because they did not understand the Chinese, because they were trying to convert the exploited instead of the exploiters, because they were intolerant, the missionaries lost the battle, and with it, the war.

## IV

Starting with the 1920's, the river Chinatowns became parasitic communities feeding on the wages of the Filipino and Mexican laborers being imported in increasing numbers to fill the needs of an ever labor-hungry agriculture. The towns also served another function as wintering quarters for some workers, mostly Chinese. All crops require labor for short periods only. The asparagus season lasted for about a hundred days from March to June.[55] After the last asparagus had been canned, the worker was faced with the choice of migrating or hibernating. Pears and peaches in the fruit district ripened around this time and occupied his attentions for a while; labor bosses also contracted workers for the Alaskan salmon canneries.[56] But for several months of the year, the laborer was idle. Whether he hibernated in the Delta towns or in the cities was immaterial; the chances were good that he would again be in debt before the next season. One way or another, the merchants and bosses made their money. When fire (rumored to have been started by someone who had lost several thousand dollars in a gambling establishment the night before) destroyed a three-block section of Walnut Grove's Chinatown in the winter of 1937, sixty to seventy safes stood above the ashes of the buildings.[57] If nothing else, this represented a considerable investment in safes.

This happy state of affairs did not last long. Asparagus production reached the limit of its expansion in the 1920's, when almost all land had been planted to asparagus except the relatively expensive orchard lands. Continual planting with asparagus exhausted the soil, and the crop shifted over to fresher lands on the San Joaquin. Faster means of transportation hastened the decline of the canneries: asparagus could now be trucked to larger, more diversified city canneries. In 1929, ten canneries operated near Walnut Grove, Isleton, and Rio Vista; there were three in 1950; none in 1955.[58] The Sacramento Chinatowns gradually declined as their people left them.

Rio Vista's Chinatown was the first to die, though its passing had little to do with asparagus. It had been dying for some time, when some of its potato specialists followed the crop to the San Joaquin in the first decades of the twentieth century,[59] although it still had enough people for Chinese New Year celebrations until the First World War. What killed it finally was its one-clan status. A one-clan Chinatown must be continually infused with new blood, because its members are forbidden to marry within the clan.[60] Young Chinese, members of a more mobile and more sophisticated generation, saw little future in asparagus and even less reason for moving to Rio Vista.

Courtland's Chinatown was next. When fire burned down the Chinese quarter in 1930, the owners of the land refused to renew the leases, so the Chinese moved to Locke and Walnut Grove.[61] Once, there had been so many Chinese in Courtland that the Chinese in the Delta had called the Sacramento River, the "Courtland River," in letters home to China. Now, only a few decaying buildings are left of what was once a sizeable Chinese settlement.

The asparagus Chinatowns — Locke, Walnut Grove, Isleton — were the last to go. Another period of prosperity occurred during the Second World War, but shortly afterwards, the second generation moved out. The generation of Chinese camp workers became too old to be useful, and the Chinese bosses, with no one to boss, closed up shop and moved away to city Chinatowns. Japanese and Filipinos took over Walnut Grove's Chinatown. A brief flurry of asparagus activity in 1950 attracted the last Chinese to Isleton, but within a few years, the town, once the center of production for 90 percent of the world's asparagus, was dwindling away. All the river Chinatowns are slums, but Isleton's Chinatown, rebuilt after a fire in 1926 with "modern fireproof buildings,"[62] has the added curse of being non-picturesque. Tourists, who are beginning to invade the Delta on summer weekends, have devoted their attentions to the much more quaint village of Locke, where most of the Chinese in the Delta have stayed.

Only a few hundred Chinese remain in the Delta in what are essentially communities of old men. They are the last of their kind, empire builders in their own way, most of whom never found the fortunes they had come so far to seek. They stay here, perhaps, because this place is so much like their homes in the Pearl River Delta. The landscape, the rhythm of the crops, the slow, unhurried pace of life, are similar. But that is not all. The Pearl River Delta had one of the highest rates of land tenancy in all China; interest rates on loans to stay alive were even higher.[63] Pagodas and pawnshops had been the most conspicuous features of the Pearl River Delta landscape; the joss houses and the poorhouses of Chinatowns were their counterparts in the Sacramento River Delta. To have come so far, only to find this place so much like home, is the final irony.

## NOTES

1. Varden Fuller, "The Supply of Agricultural Labor as a Factor in the Evolution of Farm Organization in California," in U. S. Congress, Senate, *Hearings Before a Sub-Committee of the Committee on Education and Labor,* 76th Cong., 3rd Sess. (Washington, 1940); Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field* (Boston, 1939); also see R. D. McKenzie, "The Oriental Finds a Job," *Survey Graphic,* LVI (May 1, 1926), 151.

2. California, Department of Industrial Relations, *Californians of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino Ancestry* (San Francisco, 1965).

3. John Thompson, "The Settlement Geography of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, California" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1957).

4. Thompson, 13.

5. California, *Report of the Commissioner of Public Works* (Sacramento, 1895), 14.

6. Julian Dana, *The Sacramento: River of Gold* (New York, 1939), 160.

7. Thompson gives a good discussion of the legislation involved during the reclamation period.

8. Thompson, 201, 226.

9. U. S. Congress, Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission,* 61st Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Document 633 (Washington, 1911), 330.

10. Testimony of George D. Roberts, U. S. Congress, *Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration,* 44th Cong., 2nd Sess., Senate Report 689 (Washington, 1877), 436; Tide Land Reclamation Company, *Fresh Water Tide Lands of California* (San Francisco, 1869), 19.

11. Annual Message of Governor John McDougal, January 7, 1852, quoted in Gunther Barth, *Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870* (Cambridge, 1964), 136.

12. Ping Chiu, *Chinese Labor in California, 1850-1880* (Madison, 1963).

13. Testimony of George D. Roberts.

14. Tide Land Reclamation Company, 25.

15. Tide Land Reclamation Company, 42.

16. Dana, 163; *Commissioner of Public Works,* 14.

17. William J. Rogers, "The Delta Story," *Stockton Record* (July 2-July 28, 1951).

18. Testimony of George D. Roberts.

19. Rogers, July 5, 1951.

20. *Commissioner of Public Works,* 12-17.

21. Interview with Delta landowner, November, 1966.

22. Sen. Doc. 633, 17.

23. Sen. Doc. 633, 329.

24. Testimony of George D. Roberts; William O. Russell (ed.), *History of Yolo County, California* (Woodland, California, 1940), 170.

25. Sen. Doc. 633, 325-326.

26. Sen. Doc. 633, 327; Edwin E. Cox, "Farm Tenantry in California," *Commonwealth Club of California Transactions,* XI (1916), 449.

27. Sen. Doc. 633, 334-339; Cox, 448.

28. Sen. Doc. 633, 340-341; Cox, 445.

29. Sen. Doc. 633, 325, 351.

30. Cox, 447; Testimony of J. A. Aggler, California, *Report of the Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credits* (Sacramento, 1916).

31. Sen. Doc. 633, 339-340.

32. Cox, 447.

33. Personal interviews, 1966.
Unfortunately, there is no standard romanization for Cantonese. I have followed the spelling of place names in maps prepared by the U. S. Army Map Service for the area. A more accurate rendition of the term "Sze Yap" (the most common spelling in the literature on the Chinese in California) may be "Sei Yap," following the Yale romanization system.

34. See, for example, Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (2nd ed.; London, 1965).

35. Barth, 9-31.

36. Undated *San Francisco Call* article (probably 1880's or 1890's) in *Bancroft Library Scrapbook No. 21.*

37. Personal interviews, Rio Vista, 1966.

38. *Sacramento River News* (Rio Vista, California), December 19, 1890.

39. *Sacramento River News,* April 13, 1894.

40. A "joss house" is a Chinese temple. Chinese "religion" is primarily an animistic folk religion amalgamated with Buddhist and Taoist gods and beliefs. District and clan organizations, as well as secret societies, sometimes had small shrines with statues of patron deities, and observers occasionally confused these with the more formal temples. The joss house in Isleton, however, was probably a full-fledged temple.

41. Thompson, 340.

42. For example, see the 75th Anniversary Edition of the *River-News Herald* (Rio Vista, January 5, 1966), which published an interview with one Isleton Chinese whose father came after the 1906 earthquake.

43. Personal interviews, 1966.

44. The Japanese were not as tractable as the Chinese. Worse, some of them had become landowners and were farming for themselves. The Japanese became such successful farmers, in fact, that they provoked antialien land legislation.

45. Sen. Doc. 633, 11-12.

46. For example, see Barth, *Bitter Strength,* and Stanford M. Lyman, "The Structure of Chinese Society in Nineteenth-Century America," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1961).

47. Rogers, July 11, 1951; *River News* (Rio Vista), December 17, 1921.
These were probably not syndicates in the formal sense of the word. Little capital was needed to get started, the landowner furnishing almost everything.

48. Sen. Doc. 633, 361.
Even in the canneries, ethnic specialization persisted. Chinese trucked the asparagus from the docks to the buildings, washed, sorted and canned it, soldered the cans and sterilized them. Japanese or whites worked in the warehouses, labelling, storing, or shipping the product.

49. *River News,* October 16, 1920.

50. *River News,* November 11, 1937; *Isleton Journal,* November 12, 1937.

51. Both Lyman and Barth discuss Chinese secret societies in California. A

52. *Sacramento Bee,* October 7 and 8, 1915; *Sacramento Union,* October 8, 1915.

53. Personal interviews, 1966.

54. Esther A. Thomas, "A Chinese Town on the Sacramento," *Missionary Review,* LVII (1934), 407-408. Though biased, this is the only eyewitness report of life in a river Chinatown.

55. Sen. Doc. 633, 11.

56. Personal interview with a Chinese who contracted for labor in the 1930's. The Alaskan salmon season overlapped with the Delta asparagus season. This may mean that Delta contractors recruited for both Delta growers and Alaskan canneries.

57. *River News,* November 11, 1937; *Isleton Journal,* November 12, 1937.

58. Thompson, 344.

59. Personal interviews, 1966.

60. Rose Hum Lee, "The Decline of Chinatowns in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology,* LIV (1949), 422-432.

61. *Sacramento Union,* March 14, 1937.

62. *Isleton Journal,* December 3, 1926.

63. Chen Han-seng, *Landlord and Peasant in China* (New York, 1936).

# State Separation Schemes, 1907-1921

*By* ROBERTA M. McDOW

PLANS TO DIVIDE California have blossomed perennially in its history. During the first decade of statehood, the Pico Act sought to carve the Territory of Colorado from what is now San Diego, Imperial, Riverside, Orange, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, Ventura, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and parts of Kern and Inyo counties. The Act of 1859 — the Pico Act — was approved by both houses of the state legislature, the governor and two-thirds of the electorate within the boundaries of the proposed territory. Congressional approval was all that was needed to make division a reality. But Congress did not favor the proposal and California remained a single state.[1]

Less well-known are the attempts to divide California from 1907 through 1921. None of these efforts was as successful as the Pico Act, but during these fifteen years more separation sentiment was evident than at any other time since 1859.

Those who propose state division do so to remedy sectional problems. Usually these problems are caused or unsolved because the aggrieved section has either a minority of the state's population or a minority of state legislative representation. Consequently, the Territory of Colorado was proposed by people in the lesser-populated southern section. In 1907 Southern California still trailed Northern California in population, but as the South grew, increased numbers of Northerners thought that division would be advantageous.

The most stalwart division advocate during this period was State Senator Robert N. Bulla. His address to the Sunset Club of Los Angeles in March, 1907, publicly marked the beginning of his leadership. In that speech he analyzed the questions could, should and would the state be divided.[2]

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ROBERTA M. McDOW, who wrote her Master of Arts thesis on the proposals to divide the state of California, received her A. B. and A. M. degrees from the University of the Pacific. Mrs. McDow has already published an article on earlier state separation schemes in *The Pacific Historian.*

Bulla contended that the Act of 1859 was still in force. Therefore, he argued, only Congressional consent was needed to accomplish division.

He also countered the argument of Judge Frank H. Short of Fresno who, several weeks earlier, had cited Section Three, Article Four of the United States Constitution as a deterrent to division. Short asserted that the clause, "but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State;" was independent from the remainder of the section. Therefore, no new state could be made from territory already a part of a state.[3] Bulla declared that the clause was not set apart and did not, then, prevent California's division.

California should be divided, Bulla continued, because Southern Californians wanted a separate, more convenient state government. The new state — Los Angeles as Bulla would name it — would reduce the political influence of the transportion companies, eliminate Supreme Court duplication, lessen the jealousy between North and South, and increase Pacific Coast Congressional representation. Bulla also asserted that the increase in taxes required to finance the new state would soon be offset by reductions in the cost of government.

Bulla concluded, however, that the state probably would not be divided. He thought several factors were essential for separation: support of Southern Californians, favorable action from "Uncle Joe" Cannon to move the measure through the House of Representatives, and Eastern acceptance of increased Pacific Coast representation. Bulla was not certain that all these requirements would be forthcoming. He also wondered if separating at the 1859 line would be advisable because it would cut off Los Angeles from its Owens River Project in Inyo county.

The loss of the Owens River Project, which is not in that part of Inyo included south of the 1859 line, became one of the most forceful arguments used by division opponents.[4] One of the most influential of these men was Senator H. E. Carter. In an article for the *Grizzly Bear,* the publication of the Native Sons of the Golden West, Carter asserted that sectional differences were disappearing and that Southern California was receiving more benefits than it paid for through taxation. He assailed another argument often used by separation supporters: the failure of the state legislature to pass measures essential to the South. He said:

> Contrary to being unable to get needed legislation, the Southern California delegation, for the past eight years, has been able to and did get through all and every bit of legislation requested by the people of Southern California.[5]

The *Grizzly Bear* also printed an editorial opposing division. Speaking for the Native Sons it wrote:

> The *Grizzly Bear* informs all who care to know that the Native Sons of the Golden West as an Order, are unanimous upon this subject and will positively fight State Division. We recognize no North, no South, but one united commonwealth, and will oppose determinedly and fearlessly to the last trench any attempt to disrupt the State founded by our fathers, the Pioneers of "49".[6]

Other states watched California's domestic difficulties with interest. The Springfield *Republican* in Massachusetts wondered why Northern Californians were not supporting the separation move that would give the Pacific Coast more representation in the Senate. The *California Weekly* in San Francisco replied:

> The representation of California in the United States Senate has not usually been of such quality as to stimulate a universal desire to have it multiplied by two.[7]

In September, 1909, new fuel was added to the division fire when the assessed valuation of the Southern counties was raised by the State Board of Equalization. Ventura's assessment was increased one-hundred per cent. Los Angeles' increase was forty per cent, but in the North San Francisco county was raised only ten per cent.[8]

The Los Angeles Realty Board quickly called a mass meeting to consider these increases.[9] With acting Realty President George N. Black presiding,[10] the meeting selected a study committee to decide the advisability of holding a convention to discuss division.[11]

The Los Angeles *Times,* unsympathetic to previous division sentiments, also protested the tax increases and added that Southern Californians were better intellectually and morally than a large number of Northern Californians. But it concluded that division was not a solution to Southern problems at this time.[12]

The Northern press jumped into the agitation on the side of unity. The *California Weekly* found no reasons for separation — but no disadvantages for the Northern counties if separation did occur.[13] The San Francisco *Call* charged that only Los Angeles was promoting division.[14] The *Call* also contended that an amendment to Section One, Article Twenty-one of the California State Constitution, which describes the boundaries of California, would have to be passed before division could be achieved.[15]

Meanwhile former State Senator Robert N. Bulla inspired pro-separation forces by repeating his analysis[16] — could, should, and would the state be divided — in an address to the City Club of Los Angeles.[17] And the committee formed at the mass meeting sponsored by the Realty Board was making plans to hold a division convention on October 5, 1909.[18]

But when convention day arrived, tempers had cooled and the meeting was poorly attended.[19] Although pro and con division arguments were still printed in the newspapers, the failure of the convention ended further Tehachapi-line separation action for several years. Perhaps division sentiment had subsided because Southern Californians thought that their assessment increases were reasonable in light of the regions' rapid increases in population, wealth, and property value. Or, perhaps the sympathy for division was not as widespread as some newspapers had suggested.[20]

But state division was not a dead issue everywhere in California. In the counties bordering Oregon a new plan was publicized that would create the state of Siskiyou from Coos, Douglas, Curry, Josephine, Jackson, Klamath, and Lake counties in Oregon and Del Norte, Siskiyou, Modoc, Humboldt, Trinity, Shasta, Lassen, and Tehama counties in California.[21] The reason behind the agitation was to attract attention to these counties which were, they felt, ignored by their respective states.[22] As the *Yreka Journal* stated:

> Whether anything ever comes of the proposition or not, Siskiyou county and its county seat Yreka is getting the best advertising it ever had and the whole cost of the same is at the expense of the *Journal*.[23]

By 1910 little sentiment for separation was noticeable in either the Southern or the far-Northern sections of California. Joseph Hayford Quire, in "State Division in California," wrote at that time:

> The occupations and character of the people of the two sections are coming more and more into harmony.... One race of people now exists where two had formerly lived. All conditions go to show that we will have no "North California," "Central California," or "South California," but instead a unified, a strong, and an incomparable Golden State of California.[24]

But after the 1914 election, the division issue revived. Now a group of Northern Californians urged the split. They contended that both sections favored separation and that most Southern residents were not in sympathy with the California spirit because they were not natives of the Golden State.[25]

Early in 1915 another Northern organization was functioning called the Peoples Association for Changing the Boundary of California by Amending the Constitution. The association would separate the rest of the state from the eight counties south of the Tehachapis — San Diego, Imperial, Riverside, Orange, Santa Barbara, Ventura, Los Angeles, and San Bernardino — by amending Section One, Article Twenty-one of the state constitution. This was the article cited in 1909 by the San Francisco *Call* as an obstacle to division. By the end of January nearly five thousand signatures had been obtained on initiative petitions,[26] and a few days later one-hundred and fifty petitions were reported in circulation.[27]

In an interview in Stockton, Russell L. Dunn, secretary of the association, stated Northern reasons for division. First, the Eastern immigrants in the South were trying to force their will on the North; second, some of the measures that the South supported were discouraging out-of-state-capital; third, mining interests were being hurt by the South-supported compensation law; fourth, the South was pressing for prohibition; fifth, Congressional representation for the area would be increased.[28]

In the Southland, Robert N. Bulla ignored illness to speak again for division. He found economic, legislative and geographic advantages for separation[29] and promised his help.[30]

But neither Bulla's support nor the estimated ten thousand signatures obtained by the middle of February were enough to split the state. The opposition to division was formidable — and much of it came from Los Angeles County.

Although Dunn had suggested that Inyo County could be traded for Santa Barbara County in the new state,[31] Los Angeles feared that separation at the Tehachapis would amputate its water interests in Inyo County. Moreover, the South's attitude toward division was mellowing while the sympathies of the North did not favor division as much as the association assumed.[32]

In the years that followed the division cry was heard occasionally in both sections, but no serious separation move occurred until 1921. At that time California struggled with the reapportionment that should have followed the 1920 census. If the state reapportioned on population only, urban areas would gain representatives at the expense of rural areas and the South would gain at the expense of the North. When the expected adjustment was not forthcoming, Southerners once again urged division.

In 1921 Assemblyman W. F. Beal of Imperial County introduced a bill to form the state of Southern California[33] from the eight Southern counties.[34] Beal's plan was: first, to begin the division process with either an initiative action by the people or the legislature; second, to obtain the approval of the people within the whole state; third, to obtain approval of Congress; fourth, to adopt a constitution; fifth, to obtain Congressional approval of the new constitution; sixth, to elect a governor, United States senators, representatives, and the other officials for the new state.[35] In spite of the elaborate plan, the Beal bill never left the committee.[36]

Why did the Beal bill fail? One reason appears to be that the South did not have the financial resources necessary for a separate government.[37] But there is another reason why California was not severed through the Beal bill or any other division plan during this period. It is, simply, that at no time was any section so aggrieved that it could generate the public support necessary to accomplish division. Californians seemed to be Californians first — "Southerners" or "Northerners" second. Loyalty to the state as a whole had kept California united prior to 1907. From 1907 through 1921, loyalty kept California united in spite of the inconveniences caused by geographical length, sectionally-unequal tax increases, the state's indifference to far-Northern interests, the enormous growth of population — and of power — in the South, and aggravating reapportionment problems. From our vantage point we know that after 1921 loyalty to California as a whole would keep the state united in spite of many other sectional problems.[38]

## NOTES

1. For a comprehensive summary of division proposals from 1849 to 1966, see Roberta M. McDow, "To Divide or Not to Divide?" *The Pacific Historian,* X, No. 4 (Autumn, 1966), 22-33.

2. Robert N. Bulla, "Division of California," from a paper read before the Sunset Club, Los Angeles, March 29, 1907.

3. Los Angeles *Times,* March 10, 1907.

4. See Grant Jackson, "Owens River and State Division," *Grizzly Bear* [San Francisco], 1:50, May 1907.

5. H. E. Carter, "State Division," *Ibid.,* 1:49, June 1907.

6. Editorial, *Ibid.,* 1:4, May 1907.

7. Anonymous, "The Explanation Easy," *California Weekly* [San Francisco], 1:387, May 14, 1909.

8. Los Angeles *Herald,* September 13, 1909.

9. San Francisco *Call,* September 14, 1909.

10. Los Angeles *Times,* September 14, 1909.

11. Los Angeles *Herald,* September 14, 1909.

12. Los Angeles *Times,* September 14, 1909.

13. Editorial, *California Weekly,* 1:673, September 17, 1909.

14. San Francisco *Call,* September 16, 1909.

15. *Ibid.,* September 27, 1909.

16. Robert N. Bulla, "Division of California," *Pacific Outlook,* 7:6, 11-12, September 25, 1909.

17. Los Angeles *Express,* September 18, 1909.

18. San Francisco *Call,* September 21, 1909.

19. Clarence M. Hunt, "Before *and* After the Secession 'Convention'," *Grizzly Bear,* 6:1, November 1909.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Los Angeles *Times,* December 16, 1909.

22. Medford *Tribune* as quoted in *The Yreka Journal,* August 25, 1909.

23. Yreka *Journal,* November 10, 1909.

24. Joseph Hayford Quire, "State Division in California," (unpublished manuscript in the California State Library, Sacramento, June 1910).

25. San Francisco *Examiner,* December 23, 1914.

26. *Ibid.,* January 31, 1915.

27. *Ibid.,* February 2, 1915.

28. Los Angeles *Express,* February 8, 1915.

29. San Francisco *Examiner,* February 4, 1915.

30. *Ibid.,* February 2, 1915.

31. *Ibid.*

32. San Francisco *Chronicle,* February 27, 1915.

33. Los Angeles *Times,* November 24, 1926.

34. *Ibid.,* November 11, 1926.

35. *Ibid.,* November 24, 1926.

36. *Ibid.,* November 11, 1926.

37. San Francisco *Chronicle,* April 24, 1921.

38. For a detailed account of a later plan to divide the state, see William Newell Davis, Jr., "California's 'State of Jefferson'," *California Historical Society Quarterly,* XXXI, No. 2 (June, 1952), 125-138.

# Harbor Entry and Recognition Signals in Early California

*By* DONALD C. CUTTER

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MODERN NAVAL DOCTRINE takes for granted, particularly in war time or when hostilities are imminent, certain precautions to guard coastal establishments from unauthorized entry. Such devices as signs and countersigns, audio and visual signalling, seem to a modern generation automatic precautions, but ones essentially concerned with the present century. Assistance for gaining access to a harbor, for finding appropriate anchoring ground for ships, and for making known the nationality and peaceful intentions of the inbound vessel are all problems which were likewise faced in the early days of occupation of Spanish California.

Sailing directions possessed by the Spanish Naval Department of San Blas and promulgated to appropriate vessels gave clear instructions for making the harbor at the capital of Alta California. Frequent fogs which shrouded the inhospitable Bay of Monterey made sound signals even more important than visual signals, and vessels making the harbor employed a series of cannon shots to attract attention of the coastal battery of the royal presidio. From the guns of that fortification, in direct response to signals of the incoming vessel, harbor entrance guidance was provided. These exchanges of cannon salutes, fired without the ball, were employed to direct the arriving mariners.

The Spanish round-the-world scientific exploring expedition of Captain Alejandro Malaspina employed these directions in 1791 when making port coming south from Nootka to California. The explorer reported:

> The Roadstead of Monterrey . . . offers an agreeable port of arrival for both the Philippine ships that sail to San Blas and Acapulco, and also to those which

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PROFESSOR CUTTER of the University of New Mexico is a specialist in the history of the Spanish Southwest. Among his works on Spanish naval history are *Malaspina in California* (1960) and *The California Coast* (1969).

> having run the coast are returning to the former department [*i.e.*, San Blas]. But the dense fog which almost always envelops it fills with anxiety the inexperienced pilot that tries to make its anchorage. In order to avoid the dread of this landfall, we will give notice that rarely are cross winds experienced; that northwesterlies are as common as are the fogs, and that the strongest winds that are suffered along this coast are from the south. Therefore whoever desires to anchor at Monterrey should steer toward Point Año Nuevo; and seeing this at a distance of one mile if it is possible, steer SE¼E [123¼°] until finding himself a league from Point of Pines, recognized by the many trees of this kind that cover it, and by the several white spots that it has on its steep banks. Then sailing ESE [112½°] the building which is called the presidio will be seen to the east, and arriving in 14 fathoms one can let go the anchor. Then it is necessary to take into account the rocks called La Loma and to use a kedge anchor astern, with which one remains in sufficient safety. But after having seen Point Año Nuevo, if one should be in the dark either because fog blocks his view or because the light of day is disappearing, one will steer a course to approach port with little way on, and thinking himself to be at a distance capable of being able to hear the sound of 12 calibre cannon shots, he will fire some from time to time until hearing those that they always have ready for that purpose, and the direction from which they are heard will serve as a guide for making the anchorage.[1]

Not only were these signals exchanged, but also the local presidio at times had available small boats to use in guiding vessels both in and out of the harbor when circumstances required. These boats were employed to kedge a vessel out far enough to catch the off-shore breezes, or to assist in hauling vessels in to closer anchoring ground.

Important to the security of the California harbors was the need to have a definite set of recognition signals. The California coast was fully exposed. Recourse to soldiers as lookouts awaiting the appearance of foreign sails along the coast was time consuming and not very effective. The vantage point for spotting a potential invader was frequently so distant from the probable point of attack that precious time would be lost in getting the word passed.

In the decade of the 1790's the exposure of the California coast was more evident than it had been earlier. Spanish tranquility had been broken by the repeated appearance of foreign vessels in the Pacific. Boston men had made their appearance on the coast, the English commissioner in the Nootka Controversy, Captain George Vancouver, R.N., visited the California establishments on three occasions, and other vessels were sighted occasionally making a tentative approach to the little guarded coast. During this same period the Spanish Navy, with Pacific headquarters at the coastal port of San Blas, today in Nayarit, was exceedingly active in pressing Spanish claims to the Pacific Northwest.[2] But Spain was not alone in this effort to control the area to the north of modern California — there were the United States, Russian, French, and English pretenders in the form of explorers and fur traders. To keep an eye on Spanish interests and to strengthen the Spanish defensive posture along the coast, the Spanish Navy was kept busy in repeated exploration and in supply of the youthful colonies in Upper California and at Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island's verdant west coast.

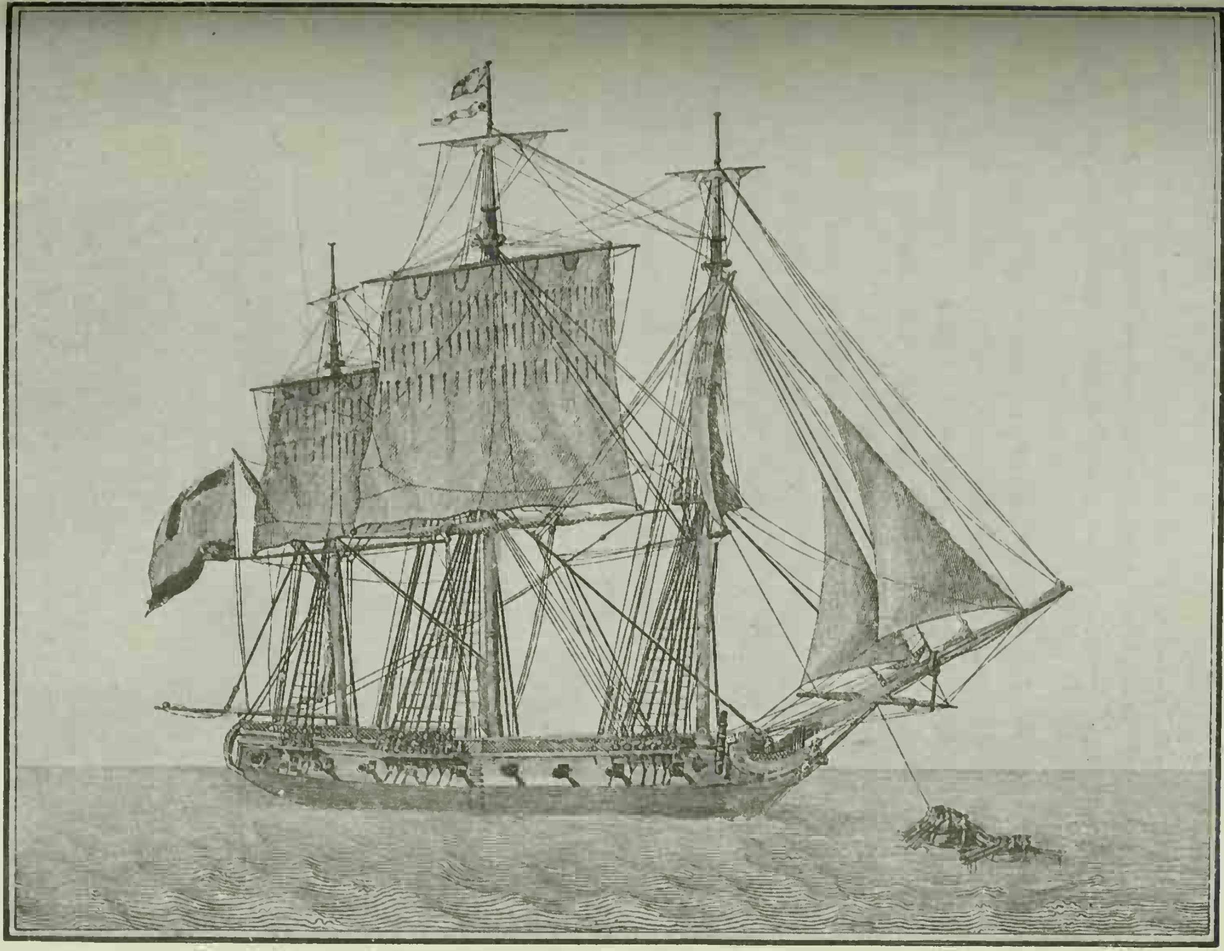
As had been the case earlier, Spain overexpanded its resources both financially and physically in its move northward. There were many expenses and a lack of trained personnel. Dire necessity of defending Spain's colonial empire in North America brought a temporary solution to the first of these problems; but the second, that of lack of naval personnel, was partly solved only by admitting into the pilotage corps of the Naval Department of San Blas several North Americans who were available.

The first of these recruits in entering Spanish service was John Kendrick, Jr., son of the old Revolutionary War privateer and companion of his father during the early exploration of the West Coast made by John, Sr., and his subordinate commander, Robert Gray. The younger Kendrick left his father's vessel, the *Columbia,* on the Northwest Coast to assume duties as interpreter and second pilot aboard the *San Carlos,* a Spanish naval packetboat. In San Blas he later officially joined the Spanish Royal Navy as a pilot. John Kendrick, Jr., subsequently served aboard the Frigate *Princesa* and as *Piloto segundo* was even permitted to command at different times the *Hermosa Americana* and the Frigate *Arânzazu.* Kendrick served Spain well, received high recommendations of his superiors, built up seven years of longevity, and under other circumstances might even have ascended to the regular commissioned officer ranks.[3]

A second recruit to the Spanish pilotage corps was the later to be well-known figure Joseph Burling O'Cain of Philadelphia and Boston, who would become famous in the sea otter trade and as a result of his dealings with the Russian American Fur Company. At this time he was but a "boy" and was customarily called in typically Hispanic fashion by his middle rather than by his last name; that is, Burling rather than O'Cain. This ship's boy was recruited on the Pacific Northwest Coast after he "jumped ship." José Tobar, a Spanish naval officer, was later held responsible for this enlistment under circumstances which make it apparent that the officer had entreated the cabin boy to desert. O'Cain, as he was otherwise called, served in the post of *pilotín* or apprentice pilot, one grade lower than Kendrick.[4] Both however, despite their lowly status, were within the officer rather than the enlisted ranks.

We know little of the service of Burling, but Juan (John) Kendrick served so well in the Nootka campaign that he was recommended by the Nootka Commandant, Lieutenant Ramón Saavedra of the Spanish Royal Navy, in a letter written in August, 1794, to the Viceroy.[5] But to the upper officialdom it seemed somehow risky to have a Bostonman at the conn of a Spanish vessel. Young Kendrick was relieved of his duty aboard the sloop *Sutil,* the historic vessel which several years earlier had under the command of Dionisio Alcalá-Galiano made the first circumnavigation of Vancouver Island accompanied by the twin vessel, the *Mexicana.* "Juan O'Cain or Bourleing [*sic*]" was relieved of duty and both were sent off to Spain to be separated from Spanish service.[6]

It was the separation of these minor officers, particularly in view of their obvious knowledge of harbor entry doctrine then current, that occasioned a new set of recognition signals. A not unjustified fear in light of subsequent events that these men might return to the California coast, prompted a newly promulgated set of what by modern standards would be considered elementary signals. Another motive for recognition signal change must certainly have been the unsophisticated character of the doctrine established during the founding period. Instructions issued to the commandants of California's only military settlements, San Diego and Monterey, in 1773 indicate an invariable signal. The presidio would fly the royal flag, which at that date was a white flag with a red royal crest superimposed thereupon. This would be answered aboard ship by a white pennant with the king's coat of arms being hoisted to the top of the foremast, this display of the Bourbon pennant serving as guidance to the local commandant. However, this officer was further warned in his instructions that even though the countersign was displayed, he was not to cease being prepared when a vessel entered port until



Spanish corvette of the post-1785 period showing one of the two possible positions of the recognition signal flag and pennant. The national army and navy flag, shown at the gaff, was never actually displayed simultaneously with the signal flags as in the altered engraving, original in the Museo Naval.

after he received a visit from an officer of such a ship who would come ashore in a boat or launch with assurances that the inbound vessel was Spanish. This was a "precaution which ought to be observed so as not to be taken by surprise, since it could happen that if by chance the signal were known by foreigners, they might use it and notable damage would result if the commandant were careless."[7]

The new signals promulgated to replace the violated code were issued by the Commandant of the Naval Department of San Blas, Francisco de Eliza, and were sent to the Marqués de Branciforte for Viceregal approval.[8] This was accomplished immediately for the set of new signals and appropriate notification of the intended change were sent by the Viceroy to the Governor of California, Lieutenant Colonel Diego de Borica.[9] The reason ascribed for the change was clearly stated as a desire to prevent Kendrick and O'Cain from being able to supply other nations with information concerning the then existing method for harbor entry.

California's new system was incorporated in an order issued at Tepic on August 10, 1797, by Lieutenant Francisco de Eliza of the Spanish Royal Navy as follows:

Recognition signals that the San Blas
vessels will observe:

| Day of the week | Position of flag and pennant | flags | pennants |
|---|---|---|---|
| Monday | atop the mainmast | red | red |
| Tuesday | atop the mainmast | red | blue |
| Wednesday | atop the mainmast | blue | blue |
| Thursday | atop the mainmast | blue | red |
| Friday | atop the foremast | red | red |
| Saturday | atop the foremast | blue | red |
| Sunday | atop the foremast | blue | blue.[10] |

Means of employment of these signals were also specified in the order. As soon as the incoming vessel sighted any of the California establishments it was to hoist the flag and the pennant to the appropriate place in accordance with the schedule so that these could be properly recognized. In all cases of recognition signalling the colored signal flag was to be displayed above rather than below the signal pennant, thereby leaving only one totally inadmissable combination, since a red flag over a blue pennant atop the foremast was never appropriate. The coastal countersignal which acknowledged understanding of the initial signal was the hoisting of the new Spanish national flag which had been adopted in 1785, the typical Spanish red and yellow with a central crest. A single cannon shot was also fired. To this the vessel was to respond by lowering the signal flag and pennant and by hoisting the national flag astern at the gaff.[11]

Upon receipt of Viceroy Branciforte's orders, Governor Borica sent a certified copy of the document as a confidential order to the commanders of all the California ports so that all would immediately place in execution this doctrine for admitting vessels.[12] Two days later Borica, a careful letter writer and probably the most illustrious of California's early governors, wrote to the Viceroy indicating that the word had been passed throughout his province.[13]

Of the efficiency of the new recognition system or of its employment in actual practice we have no information; but of the causes which brought it into being, *i.e.,* the uses that Kendrick and O'Cain might have at a future time for their specialized knowledge, it is evident that these were well founded. Both John Kendrick, Jr., and his fellow American Joseph B. O'Cain did indeed return to the coast of California on multiple occasions. Both were engaged either in clandestine trade or in poaching operations in California waters. Though Kendrick as a figure has escaped any extended notice, the figure of O'Cain stands out as one of the principal merchants engaged in the sea otter trade and as the first to enter into a "fifty-fifty" profit sharing agreement with the Russians in exploitation of the fur wealth of California's coastal waters. Both had taken advantage of their Spanish experience and training.

## NOTES

1. Descripción de la Rada de Monterrey, undated, in Pacífico América, tomo II, original in Museo Naval, Ministerio de Marina, Madrid, MS vol. 127. Translation is taken from Donald C. Cutter, *Malaspina in California* (San Francisco, 1960), pp. 47-48.

2. The standard study on San Blas is Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas: New Spain's Bastion for California and Nootka, 1767 to 1798* (Glendale, 1967) More recently Enrique Cárdenas de la Peña has written *San Blas de Nayarit*, (2 vols.; Mexico, 1968).

3. Details on the Kendricks, father and son, are found in John Leo Polich, "John Kendrick and the Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast" (master's thesis, University of Southern California, 1964).

4. O'Cain has not yet found a biographer but is mentioned frequently in California history textbooks. Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941), has numerous references to O'Cain.

5. Ramón Saavedra to Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, Nukat, 31 August 1794, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Mexico, Marina, tomo 98.

6. Diego de Borica to Marqués de Branciforte, Monterrey, 11 April 1797, AGN, Marina 98.

7. "Instruccion que debe observar el comandante nombrado para los establecimientos de San Diego y Monte Rey" MS, 17 August 1773, Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 514.

8. Francisco de Eliza to Viceroy Branciforte, San Blas, 27 February 1798, AGN, Marina 98.

9. Branciforte to Señor Governador de las Californias [Borica], Orizaba, 18 July 1797, AGN, Marina 98.

10. "Señales de Reconocimiento que observarán los Buques de San Blas," Tepic, 10 August 1797, signed by Francisco de Eliza, AGN, Marina 98.

11. *Ibid.* The author is indebted to Captain José Luis Morales, Subdirector of the Museo Naval, Madrid, for detailed explanation of current and historic Spanish flag signalling practices.

12. Borica to Eliza, Monterrey, 9 November 1797, AGN, Marina 98.

13. Borica to Marqués de Branciforte, Monterrey, 11 November 1797, AGN, Marina 98.

# BOOK REVIEWS

*William Tecumseh Sherman: Gold Rush Banker.* By Dwight L. Clarke. (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1969. 446 pp. $9.95.) Reviewed by Charles A. Fracchia.

In any field of scholarly research and writing, it is always a significant event when a book of first-rate scholarship, giving rare new information and insights, is published. Such an event occurred in the area of Californiana when the California Historical Society published Dwight L. Clarke's *William Tecumseh Sherman: Gold Rush Banker.*

The book's basis was the discovery by the author of a cache of letters written by Sherman to his partner in St. Louis, Henry Smith Turner. These letters were written during Sherman's stint as head of the San Francisco banking firm of Lucas, Turner during the years 1853-1857.

Although these letters — a find of great magnitude — are all business letters, Sherman adds a personal dimension to them, as well as acute observations of men and events. The style of the letters is brisk, practical, and yet, somehow warm and humane. This Civil War hero, known for the famous statement "War is hell" and for his famous march to Atlanta, comes dynamically alive in these letters. The harrassed, conservative banker during a prolonged economic slump in San Francisco, Sherman is both prophetic and acute in his financial commentary. This man, after all, was a career Army officer, who went into a field he knew nothing about (banking) in an area (San Francisco) which was a roaring boomtown and the greatest challenge to any businessman to stay solvent. Sherman not only stayed solvent, but courageously withstood many financial and business panics and crises. In the end, he liquidated the firm at no loss to the partners, when he foresaw that it was virtually impossible for the firm to operate at a consistent profit.

The letters display not only the shrewd, incisive banker, but also the concerned, loving husband and father; they display a wry sense of humor (particularly about California politicians); and they display a surprising range of observation about the state, about various leading personalities in San Francisco, and about sound business practices.

Although Sherman's letters form the basis of this book, the book is not merely raw material, definitely not an edition of Sherman's letters; instead, Clarke uses the letters deftly in this work of deep historical research and writing, and it is Clarke's scholarship and writing as much as the wealth of Sherman's letters themselves which make *Gold Rush Banker* a book of unusual and significant value.

Clarke uses his knowledge of California history and Sherman's letters to draw an exquisite portrait of San Francisco business, social, and political history during the period 1853-1857. The combination of Sherman's letters and Clarke's illumination of the period recreate this most fascinating era of San Francisco history in a most successful manner.

Sherman played a central role in one of the most famous and colorful events in San Francisco history — the Committee of Vigilance of 1856. As a leading citizen of moderate Law and Order conviction and as a former Army officer, the governor asked him to command the state militia in putting down the insurrection. Sherman's hard-headed practical realism led him to realize that any attempt to compel the Vigilantes to surrender power was doomed to failure and could only inflame antagonism and lead to serious armed conflict. Realizing that he lacked the power to be effective, he wisely withdrew from an active participation in trying to suppress the Vigilance Committee. His temperate letters give a great deal of new insight into those exciting days.

One cannot but be impressed with Clarke's prodigious scholarship in the text and notes of *Gold Rush Banker*. It not only bespeaks a wide knowledge of San Francisco history of the 1850's, but also of the intricacies of the banking practices of this period. Numerous obscure persons mentioned in the letters are identified, and events alluded to in the letters are suitably illuminated.

Clarke's notes for the book are a monument in themselves. Not only is the name identification impressive, but so is the identification of places and events. These notes, as well as a section of explanation of Sherman's banking terminology, give a great deal of information to the reader, enabling him to understand and enjoy sections of the book, which because of the technicality or intricacy of a particular event, might be incomprehensible.

To offer any negative criticism of this masterly book would to be presumptuous. And what criticism is offered can be described as "nit-picking." There are a few minor inaccuracies in the book, based upon the author's too great reliance on some of the standard histories of the period. An example of this is note 23 on page 409, which information given follows Cross' *Financing an Empire: History of Banking in California*. Although Cross is the standard study on this subject, he is frequently inaccurate and needs to be checked. In a few other instances of identification of persons, additional research could have provided more information. However, such petty flaws should not even be considered as detracting from the book's inestimable value.

Clarke's book is not only a significant contribution to western history on its own merits, but also by virtue of its illustration of the business history of San Francisco and California. This has been an area much neglected by historians. The reasons for this can perhaps be attributed to the fact that historians frequently feel uncomfortable with business terminology, etc., or feel that businessmen are uninteresting "straight, establishment" types. Nothing could be farther from the truth, as witness the lives of such men as Sherman, Pioche, and Ralston. Instead we have had a proliferation of books on illiterate trappers, "colorful" characters (typified by the Emperor Norton), and other less significant types.

And yet, the early history of San Francisco and California is very much a business history, and we can say that from 1846 to 1880, the most interesting men, as a whole, in the state and in San Francisco were the businessmen. And what could be a more colorful, interesting saga than the business history of boom-town

San Francisco from the discovery of gold to end of the Comstock bonanza? *Gold Rush Banker* has helped to redress this deficiency.

For Dwight Clarke, the publication of this book should be a personal triumph of great magnitude. Now in his 80's, having been a successful banker and still active as a director of numerous companies, Clarke, although plagued by failing eyesight, constructed out of his discovery of Sherman's letters a work of exceptional scholarship, readability, and significance. Clarke previously wrote two books — one an edition of the journals of Henry Smith Turner and the other a biography of Stephen Kearny — and has contributed numerous articles to professional periodicals and scholarly journals. His career is reminiscent of those two other dedicated western historian-businessmen: Henry Wagner and Carl Wheat.

The book itself is extremely well designed by Adrian Wilson. This attractive, 450-page publication is undoubtedly one of the book bargains of the year at its $9.95 price; and the California Historical Society should be complimented for publishing this work at such a reasonable price.

*William Tecumseh Sherman: Gold Rush Banker* is one of the most important and significant books on California history to be published within the past several years. Its scholarship and exciting readability should make it a "must" for anyone interested in the history of this state.

Charles A. Fracchia, a law graduate of the University of San Francisco, an investment counsellor, and a historian by avocation, is a trustee of the California Historical Society.

*Southern California and its University: A History of USC, 1880-1964.* By Manuel P. Servín and Iris Higbee Wilson. (Los Angeles, The Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. 319 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Donald C. Cutter.

Authors Manuel P. Servín and Iris H. Wilson, both doctoral graduates in history from the University of Southern California with some five degrees between them from that institution and with over ten years of combined teaching experience in the shadow of Tommy Trojan, have placed their heads on the line. They have walked the tightrope of institutional history, where a misstep to one side means unpopularity with both administration and alumni, whereas a misstep to the other side verges upon perjury but brings a guarantee of university blessing. The entire story of the bootstrap operation of USC from obscurity to national prominence can never be fully told. With 275 pages of text, the authors can only hit the highlights and the low spots of a history which has reflected within the Walls of Troy much of the meteoric development of southern California. It is perhaps only because USC can look ahead to a future which is bright with promise under aggressive leadership that it can afford the luxury of airing its past failures along with taking credit for its contributions. It has obviously graduated from the tyrannical era of its controversial presidential patriarch Rufus B. Von KleinSmid.

The story is well researched and the writing is as interestingly presented. It will be read by the old alums with the nostalgia of a visit to memory lane. It will be read with enthusiasm by those who have earlier realized the great contribution USC has made to western higher education. It will be viewed with skepticism by the multitude of Trojanbaiters. But to those who are neutral concerning USC, a walk along University Avenue in the footsteps of the All-Americans of every sport, a visual trip to the burgeoning campus, and a sentimental sortie into bygone days will fall on nonreceptive hearts. The latter group can only accept USC as an existing fact, little caring about the details of its past. Nor will they be able, as more knowing readers will, to read much between the lines. However, to those who might profit from history — to student, faculty, administrator, trustee, alumni, and friends — increased challenge might be taken from a university history that tries its best to tell things as they really were.

Though on page 130 the authors are referring to the immediate pre-World War II period, the institution's major problem is made clear, and it is a problem not yet fully solved, in that "ultimately it was the faculty of the University of Southern California [by accepting absurdly low salaries] that was meeting and supporting the education needs of the Southland. These needs were not supported by the population of the region or the taxpayers of the state." The greatest subsidy, the only endowment, was the ill-paid faculty. For despite the thousands of athletic supporters hanging around campus on Saturday afternoons, not one of the "athletic alumni" has ever made a substantial financial or academic contribution, preferring only to root for a winner and to exert pressure for dismissal of any coach who has the misfortune to lose.

Out of place, and doubtless not a decision of the authors, is a series of recent development pictures and a group of sports publicity shots alien to the period of the book's coverage, which ends with 1964. Otherwise the illustrations and format are excellent.

The Reviewer, Professor of Southwestern History at University of New Mexico, taught in the history department of University of Southern California from 1951 to 1962.

*North from Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States.* By Carey McWilliams. (New York: Reprinted by Greenwood Press, Publishers. 1968. 324 pp. Paper, $2.95; Cloth, $11.25.) Reviewed by José Pedro Navarro.

Writers often refer to Mexican-Americans as an "invisible" or "forgotten" minority. The second largest nonwhite minority, Mexican-Americans (some five millions) have lived in the Southwest (mainly in California, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona) since 1540 when the Spaniards began to colonize the area. They have been a conquered people since 1848 when the United States took the southwest from Mexico. Curiously, school texts typically gloss over the Mexican and Mexican-American period, directing the reader's attention to more positive aspects of Anglo-American nationalism. Also, at this time, Mexican-Americans do not have their own journal of Mexican-American history, or a historical and publications society. Moreover, there are only a few books about the Mexican-

American heritage, and they usually are expensive, out of print, and frequently missing from library shelves. The most insightful and comprehensive of these books is Carey McWilliams' *North From Mexico.*

Based on good secondary sources, *North From Mexico* is the only historical survey of the Mexican people *in the United States.* The title and main thesis of the book's sixteen chapters are based on the author's belief the history of Mexicans in the United States is a "movement north from Mexico" — a movement involving interactions between Indians, Spaniards, Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and Anglos to form diversified cultures in the Southwest. Two unusual chapters (VIII-IX) describe as no other writing, the contributions of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans to Southwestern economy, particularly unsung achievements in mining, transportation, and agriculture. Injustice is thoroughly reviewed. Anglos are shown dispossessing, lynching, shooting, and forcing Mexican-Americans into cheap labor and banditry. Incisive sections trace the origins of the Mexican stereotype, and its subsequent reinforcement by social scientists. Recent developments in the Mexican-American community are found in a new five page Introduction appended to this new reprint edition.

Although attractively bound, the volume is not well illustrated: it has only one map. As in the original, this reprint is not thoroughly documented, and the notes and bibliography are dated. These defects, however, are more than offset by the positive qualities.

The book will satisfy those interested in the entertainment value of history; it is not an erudite piece for other historians. The pace is brisk, the style clear and vivid, and the footnotes do not encumber the pages. And judged by its objective "to tell the story of the Spanish-speaking in the United States," this book must be considered remarkably successful.

Release of the paper edition this coming fall will resolve, at long last, the problem of accessibility created earlier by expensive clothbound editions. (Only 500 costly copies were reprinted in 1968 and the original is a collector's item valued at $22.) Those who read Spanish will find the Mexican translation, *Al Norte de México* (Siglo XXI, 1968) inexpensive and better illustrated. The brochure, "Mexicans in America" by the same author is now available from Teachers College Press, Columbia University is a capsule treatment of *North From Mexico.*

Carey McWilliams is a controversial figure. There are critics who believe the author excessively pleads for the cause and plight of the minority groups he writes about. McWilliams, these critics concede, has written about neglected groups (e.g., farm workers and minority groups), but he is not a professional historian. Condescendingly, critics refer to McWilliams as a journalist, forgetting the author's background as attorney, speaker, Commissioner of Housing and Immigration under Governor Olson's New Deal administration in California, as draftsman of the report submitted to the governor by the committee set up to study the "Zoot Suit" Riots of 1943, and also, as editor of the *Nation.* There are others, myself included, who feel McWilliams has a profound understanding of the Mexican-American; he does engage in some special pleading, but what writer does not? And if the author is a mite biased in favor of Mexican-Americans and other nonwhites, so much the better since most of the material about Mexican-Americans is negative. (See O. Romano's article in *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought.* Berkeley: Fall, 1968). What is needed is a history which emphasizes the positive aspects of the Mexican-American heritage. In this sense, Mexican-Americans themselves agree *North From Mexico* is one of the few insightful books about their history. It is, to be sure, one of the greatest tributes ever paid to the Mexican-American people.

José Pedro Navarro, a graduate of Van Nuys High School in Los Angeles and the recipient of the A.B. and A.M. degrees from the University of California at Santa Barbara, has taught Mexican-American history at UCSB.

*Will Soule Indian Photographer at Fort Sill, Oklahoma 1869-74.* By Russell E. Belous and Robert A. Weinstein. (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. 120 pp. $12.50). Reviewed by Lucile A. Travis.

For the growing number of *aficionados* of American Indian culture and history, as well as for those seriously interested in photography, this book is an excellent combination of both subjects.

Russell Belous sets the stage with a concise account of the decline and fall of the Indian Nations with emphasis on those of the Southern Plains, some of whom are portrayed in the photographs taken by Will Soule about a hundred years ago and reproduced in this volume.

Robert Weinstein then traces the development of photography in the United States from the daguerrotype in the early 1840's through the Civil War, by which time "official" photographers were in demand in many fields. Among these was the young William Stinson Soule who had served in the Union army and was wounded at Antietam. After recovering, he worked for a photographer in Pennsylvania, and later in 1867 decided to follow Horace Greeley's advice and go west, to join the other "shadow catchers" as the Indians called them, taking with him the necessary photographic equipment. It was during the next eight years that he produced the astonishingly true-to-life photographs that are included in this volume.

Both authors are well equipped to write such a book as this. One is an anthropologist of note and the other an authority on the origins and development of photography. They also give due credit to Armando Solís, Chief Photographer of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, who was responsible for the printing of the wet-collodion negatives — which had been lost to the world for almost a century.

The end papers are a very helpful map of the Great Plains marking the forts, treaty sites, and battles of the period covered by the book.

All in all, this is a most satisfying addition to the library of anyone interested in American history.

**Lucile A. Travis**, who is in charge of El Molino Viejo or (The Old Mill) which formerly formed part of San Gabriel Mission, received her A.B. and A.M. degrees from Radcliffe College.

*An 1850 Voyage: San Francisco to Baltimore by Sea and by Land.* By Jacob D. B. Stillman. (Palo Alto: Lewis Osborne, 1967. 112 pp. $10.00). Reviewed by John Haskell Kemble.

This volume contains a reprinting of Dr. Jacob D. B. Stillman's narrative of his journey from California to the Atlantic Coast in 1850. It first appeared in the *Overland Monthly* in 1874 with the title: "From Colchis back to Argos." It describes a trip which began on 24 October 1850 when Dr. Stillman sailed from San Francisco for Realejo, Nicaragua, in the ship *Plymouth.* He made the Nicaragua crossing before this route had achieved any great popularity, and therefore he found the country relatively untouched by foreigners and affording little in the way of arrangements for accommodating large numbers of travellers. Dr. Stillman crossed the Isthmus by canoe, schooner, and on horseback whereas a year or so later he would have found steamboats on Lake Nicaragua and the San Juan River as well as stage coaches on paved roads between the lake and the Pacific. Despite delays and hardships, Dr. Stillman did not find the trip wholly unpleasant. It required about a month for him to travel from ocean to ocean. From San Juan de Nicaragua on the Caribbean, Dr. Stillman took passage for New Orleans in the brig *Mechanic.* After seemingly endless delays in getting away from the Central American Coast, he left the brig at Old Providence Island and remained there until passage offered in the schooner *Polly Hinds* which landed him in Baltimore on 13 February 1851.

Dr. Stillman's narrative is lively and full of interesting detail. Although written long after the event, it would appear to have been based on a journal kept at the time. It is introduced by a brief but informative Foreword by John Barr Tompkins of the Bancroft Library. There are thirty-four illustrations drawn from contemporary sources, a photograph of Dr. Stillman in his later years, and useful maps as end papers. It is the opinion of this reviewer that the narrative would have been improved by editing; not so much in the excision of material as by the inclusion of explanatory and identifying notes. Some parts of the text as printed in the *Overland Monthly* have been deleted but without indication in the present version.

The publication of this book calls attention to a fine account of trans-Isthmian travel in the Gold Rush period, and makes it available to the general reader and the scholar in convenient and attractive fashion. Perhaps it will lead to the editing and reprinting of other writings by Dr. Stillman.

**John Haskell Kemble**, a distinguished maritime historian and author, is professor of history at Pomona College.

*The Six Turnings: Major Changes in the American West 1806-1834*. By John Upton Terrell. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1968. 250 pp. $8.50.) Reviewed by Gloria R. Lothrop.

No one would gainsay that the road of history is strewn with the wrecks of proven and irrefutable causes and consequences. John Upton Terrell in *The Six Turnings* avoids this possibility by selecting events which, he clearly states, in his opinion served as turning points in westward migration during the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

In his interpretation Terrell focuses not only upon the actual frontier but also upon the influence of European and American technology and capital. This economic orientation is also evident in the consideration of the mercantile impulse which launched canoes toward the Columbia in the first "turning" westward, and the market's shift from beaver to buffalo which underscored the practicality of trading forts instead of the rendezvous and resulted in the sixth "turning" westward.

Throughout the four intervening landmark events Terrell traces the rise and demise of the force *regnant* along the early nineteenth century fur frontier. In discussing the Astorian hegemony at the mouth of the Columbia, or as its steamboats conquered the Upper Missouri, or as Astor shifted from supplier to fur monopolist and million-dollar profiteer of the rendezvous system, the author reveals a decisive tone in his writing. His judgments are strong as when he describes Captain Thorn of the *Tonquin* as a "fool." And his bias is obvious as he writes that Astor "despised nothing so much as public spirited citizens or government officials who sincerely struggled to improve the national welfare."

There is also a conscientious effort to appraise both the positives and negatives of the events in question. For example, Terrell selects as another great "turning" the launching of the "fire machine which walked on water." Although the sternwheelers gained the timorous admiration of the Indians and lured their peltries from the less spectacular Hudson's Bay Company, the author notes that they also brought with them vagabond Americans and pandemic disease. Thus the steamboat whistle was also a jarring threnody mourning the death of a wilderness alliance between mountain man and Indian.

The economic success of the steamboat contributed to Astor's eventual monopoly of the Upper Missouri fur trade. Terrell chooses this development of the Western Department of the American Fur Company, a "juggernaut spewing its corruption and debauchery," as the fourth "turning." Again, its negative features are placed in counterbalance with the increased interest in the frontier evoked in political and commercial circles.

The study turns next to the "General Rendezvous." Although the writer credits the development of the system not to William H. Ashley but to Donald McKenzie and his fur brigades, he does not overlook such Ashley men as Jim Bridger and Jedediah Smith. Terrell traces the initial efforts of Ashley and Henry up to the Cache Valley Rendezvous of 1826 and then turns from the rendezvous with its bitter rivalries of the 1830's, focusing instead upon the final "turning," the establishment of trading posts which were to serve as wilderness outposts for the caravans soon to be organized.

With obvious familiarity Terrell has scrutinized a portion of the national epic, bringing to life the fabled equerries of the fur frontier for the general reader, often with the aid of primary sources though citations are absent. Instead, short bibliographic essays appear as footnotes at the beginning of each chapter. Other annotations are not consistently provided. But an occasional footnote reveals wide knowledge, for example, of Ashley's 1825 acquisition of fur possibly from Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Mr. Terrell has presented a convincing argument supporting certain assumptions of his own devising. But most importantly, in doing this he has offered us no flat after-image of the historical past, but rather sharply outlined impressions well-suited for the general reader of western history.

Gloria Ricci Lothrop, a doctoral graduate in Western United States history from the University of Southern California, is an assistant professor of history at Marymount College.

*Fool's Gold: The Decline and Fall of Captain John Sutter of California.* By Richard Dillon. (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc. 1967, 380 pp. $6.95.) Reviewed by John Bernard McGloin, S.J.

Within the extensive pages of this well written and interesting volume, Richard Dillon, the prolific librarian of the Sutro Branch of the California State Library limits for his readers the quixotic and volatile character of John Sutter, often called the Father of American California. From the evident research and reflection which went into the making of this book has emerged a full dimensioned and welcomed study of this controversial figure. As the author indicates, most of the literary treatments of Sutter are either inferior, shallow or the veriest repetition of earlier such things. In Dillon's view, the time was at hand to give a fresh assessment of Sutter and his times as a needed addition to the California story. The present reviewer, as one of the very many who are now teaching California history, was in complete agreement when he started to read this book and it is good to be able to say that he was not disappointed with what he read within its covers.

From just about any point of view, John Sutter was a polygon figure — one can search for any of his many sides and find evidence of a sort, it would seem, in support of any given facet of his career. Thus, if one were inclined to be "anti-Sutter," one could present damning evidence of his long-term insobriety and of other defects of character and the like; if one is of the "pro-Sutter" persuasion, there are abundant details which could be used to indicate what a generous man he was — as, indeed, he was in reality. The Dillon synthesis is of lasting value because the warts as well as the worth of Sutter are all to be found here — and, out of it all and out of them all, comes a satisfactory portrait of a never uninteresting man.

This reviewer found it rewarding to read these pages in reverse order: he first wanted to see the bricks used in raising this literary edifice and that is why he found the seven pages of what Dillon has called a "Bibliographical Reprise" good reading. The author is correct when he says that "he has done his homework" — and that this is not merely a "history by hunch" analysis. Next this reviewer read, and with especial interest, the Epilogue since, having taught the Sutter story for quite some time, he wished to see how the man would fare at the hands of this latest critic and critique. One need not agree with every statement of the author or with every judgment passed by him in this interesting Epilogue; however, it appears that the reflection which went into this portion of his Sutter volume has yielded satisfactory results.

There would seem to be yet another value in the Dillon volume: we have heard so often about the Sutter-Marshall and gold discovery story that it has little or nothing that is new about it; one of the chief values which enhance this book is that it gives us a "complete John Sutter" by providing necessary details about his earlier years and about his eventual arrival in California. Especially interesting were the descriptive pages of the Sutter trek across the plains to the Pacific Coast.

Finally, although one could cavil about certain captions — e.g., one following page 288 which calls the gold discovered by Sutter "nuggets" when the show of color would seem to have consisted merely of flakestone — one must and should conclude with congratulations to Richard Dillon for an essentially sound treatment which will be much read by Californiacs and much used by present and future teachers of the California story.

John Bernard McGloin, S.J., a professor of California history at the University of San Francisco, is also a well-known author of the state's history.

*California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917.* By Spencer C. Olin, Jr. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968, 253 pp. $6.95.) Reviewed by John M. Selig.

Utilizing the Hiram Johnson Papers and the latest research on the Progressive Movement the author produced this well documented study. Against a background of reform and party warfare, this book describes the administration and practical politics of Governor Hiram W. Johnson. Although the governor's principal advisers made substantial contributions to state administration and policy formation, it was Johnson who finally decided on legislation and party politics. The author observes: "seldom has a governor so dominated the life of his state" (p. 36). His political campaigns were for personal rather than team victory. His administration destroyed the dominant political power of the Southern

Pacific Railroad Company in California and provided for comprehensive regulation of all public utilities. It was responsible for governmental reform, advanced social and economic legislation, and electoral changes which included the initiative, referendum, recall, cross-filing and nonpartisan elections. As Vice-Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party in 1912 Johnson gained national recognition. For almost three years the California Progressives formed a separate party, while the Republican Party was again controlled by the leaders who had earlier been discredited and deposed. In 1914 Johnson was re-elected governor. Party warfare was strong and bitter throughout 1916. Running against a candidate strongly supported by the regular Republicans, the governor sought the Republican and Progressive nominations for United States Senator. When Presidential candidate Charles Evans Hughes toured California during the primary, he allowed his campaign to be managed exclusively by the regular Republican organization which prevented any public recognition of Governor Johnson or the Progressives. Hughes made other campaign errors. Johnson won both party nominations in the primaries. The Progressives regained control of the Republican Party organization in September. Hughes lost California and the Presidency by less than four thousand votes, while Johnson won overwhelmingly. Hiram Johnson's legacy of personality based politics still influences California's voting behavior.

John M. Selig is an instructor in political science at the City College of San Francisco.

*My Life with History: An Autobiography*. By John D. Hicks. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968. 366 pp. $5.95.) Reviewed by John A. Schutz.

For anyone who has known Professor Hicks as a teacher and an associate this autobiography has the double value of renewing a friendship and giving one an excursion of seventy years into United States frontier and western history. The unusual richness and variety of his experiences is an inspiration, perhaps even a measurement for one's own career, and the passing events of those years are an intimate view of the nation and the history profession in transition. In short, Mr. Hicks has written more than an autobiography; it is good history, with personal observation and evaluation, that traces the rise of a preacher's son from rural Missouri and Wyoming to the great universities of the nation, to become one of the most influential historians of our day; and it weaves just enough humor and story-telling to take the edge off of judgments of colleagues and events — judgments that are surprisingly candid.

Seventy-eight years ago John Hicks was born to parents who were self-educated and inspired Methodists. His father held pastorates for twenty-seven years in northwestern Missouri and in Wyoming. A revivalist and seeker after souls, this kindly man wore himself in the service of God, but had time also to raise by two marriages a large family. John grew up in parsonages and learned the mysteries of farm and frontier life. Taking the opportunities as he found them, he enrolled in local schools and was tutored by his father who gave him examples of integrity, hard work, and struggle. While the family lived near the poverty line, it enjoyed life fully, comforted itself and others, and trusted that John would follow in his father's good work.

Though John had a preacher's license, mounted the pulpit, and served the church in a multitude of ways, he avoided the call somehow and, in his teens, turned to teaching. As a country school teacher on the Wyoming plains near Kaycee and then at French Creek near Buffalo, he spent two adventurous years in one-room log cabins, instructing children almost his own age. Meanwhile, he managed both to save money for college and side step parental moves to enroll him in a Bible institute. In 1908, he entered Methodist-sponsored Northwestern University where he studied until his money gave out. During a year clerking in a general store at Wheatland, Wyoming, he again saved money for college and was able to return to the university, where additional help from friends and a job in the library permitted him to complete college. Taking advantage of his library job, he stayed another year at Northwestern and won his M.A. degree in June 1914. His professors were impressed sufficiently with his promise to back his application for a teaching assistantship at the University of Wisconsin.

With his own frontier experience in mind John wanted to work on the West and chose as his major professor Frederick L. Paxson. Already known for the *Last American Frontier*, Paxson was an able lecturer, full of vigor and eager to help his graduates, and was soon a friend. Other professors were equally great and equally demanding, and within three years Hicks had taken his examinations and written the dissertation. Other associations with graduate students who have since achieved distinction gave him many important acquaintances in the profession. While his first teaching position at Hamline University came primarily through Paxson's efforts, the president of Hamline was impressed with Hicks' religious background. For the next six years Hicks taught a variety of courses, plunged into small college activity, and met eventually a senior student whom he wanted for his wife. With the approval of the president, they dated and were engaged, agreeing to marry after Lucile Curtis had a year of high school teaching and a chance to think over the pending marriage.

In the meantime, Hicks presented a paper at an American Historical Association convention, published an article on Ignatius Donnelly, and made some professional acquaintances. Although he had hoped for promotion to the University of Minnesota, an offer of a full professorship came instead from the North Carolina College for Women. It was too good to refuse even though he had to leave the Middle West and his many new friends, but an opportunity of this kind may not come again. However, before he had firmly settled in Greensboro, he received another invitation to read a paper at the AHA, and it attracted an offer of a professorship at the University of Nebraska. Delighted by these new advantages and slightly embarrassed too, he moved his family to Lincoln and began nine years teaching and research that culminated in his famous *The Populist Revolt* (1931). This fine study "was a long time in coming," says Hicks, but it was very well received. The most impressive of his honors was an offer of a professorship at the University of Wisconsin to replace his friend Paxson who had moved to the University of California, Berkeley. Ten years later Hicks received the Morrison chair at Berkeley, rejoined his friend Paxson, and completed his two-volume history of the United States.

During the next fifteen years Hicks served as dean of the graduate school and chairman of the history department. Though he did not enjoy administration, he accepted the burden gracefully and initiated some reforms. He was elected president of the Pacific Coast Branch, American Historical Association, and spent one year at Cambridge University as the Pitt Professor. He was active in the oath dispute that tore the University apart in the early 1950's and was chairman of the Committee of Seven that tried unsuccessfully to find a compromise. The bitterness of that dispute, Hicks says, "was the most traumatic experience of my life."

In this personal narrative Mr. Hicks gives the reader many of his private thoughts and decisions. While he has obviously withheld much information that relates to business and professional matters, he had made judgments, analyzed his own attitudes toward professional affairs, and revealed his philosophy toward teaching. His insistence that good teaching has a priority over other duties will unsettle some research dominated scholars, but he has practiced what he preaches. His lectures were well organized, with depth and vigor, and included enough of the newer interpretations to encourage students to read additional materials. His own research, moreover, has possessed enduring merit so that few historians are better related to a field by reputation than Mr. Hicks is to Populism. But he has achieved greater fame through his two-volume text book. In a few choice sentences he writes about his work on these volumes: "I doubt if there is any more difficult and painstaking type of historical writing than is required to produce a good textbook. . . . All historical writing is a kind of compromise between topical and chronological treatment; how far should he go with one subject before he takes up another? . . . Many times I have pointed out to my students how much simpler it would be if historical synthesis could follow the example of a symphony orchestra, with the various instruments, each representing some significant development, all blending together to produce a harmonious whole. Instead, the historian has to do the best he can to convey his enormously complicated message on a single instrument that can produce only one tone at a time."

While Mr. Hicks discusses historical theory and practice at various times through the book and gives excellent information, he is cautious in expressing views on departmental policy and the oath controversy at Berkeley. He does not reveal in a significant way why he received a "traumatic experience" from being involved in the dispute — except that as a man of peace he was bewildered by some attempts of the University Regents to exact personal revenge and sacrifice the university. If he had used his letters and impressions of that day instead of relying upon David Gardiner's monograph, his part would be more meaningful and clear.

The University of Nebraska has designed a beautifully illustrated book, with sixteen pages of appropriate photographs, and provided a good Index of seven pages.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ, an authority and highly respected author in the field of Colonial and Early United States history, is professor of history at the University of Southern California.

*The Larkin Papers: Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and United States Consul in California — Index.* Compiled by Anna Marie Hager and Everett G. Hager. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968. 80 pp. $10.00). Reviewed by Oscar Osburn Winther.

Historians of the mid-nineteenth century West first hailed the publication of *The Larkin Papers,* ten volumes edited by George P. Hammond, as the volumes began to appear in 1951. They now have occasion to rejoice once again with the publication of the *Index* to these invaluable papers. Anna Marie and Everett G. Hager are not only to be commended for having done a superior job of compiling this index but for having given so generously of themselves in order that historical studies of California and the West may be facilitated.

Those who may have used *The Larkin Papers* will know the riches to which this *Index* is an indispensable key: Larkin's massive correspondence and assorted documents and records spanning the years 1822-1858 during which time he was a leading merchant, United States Consul in California, and secret agent for the United States government. As Professor Hammond states in his Preface to the *Index,* "This mass of material demanded a key to unlock its buried treasures," and this item — not the Table of Contents for the individual volumes — is that key.

A close examination reveals a massive and an intriguing array of names that might normally be lost, names that have meaning to local as well as national historians. But what makes this particular index outstanding is the fullness with which subjects or topics, as distinguished from personal names, have not only been included but have been presented with a generous array of subtopics and cross references. It will not be necessary for the user of this index to run down an endless array of page references (topic or personal name) in order to determine if such references have usefulness to his particular subject of investigation. The following is an example:

*Hudson's Bay Company:* charters vessel, I. 52; goods for California, I. 52; establish house, I. 52; purchase of cattle, I. 77; headquarters, I. 78; agent, II. 10, 140; trappers, II.

140; opinion of Senator Choate, II. 140; permanent settlements, II. 140; in Oregon, II. 262; political party in Oregon, III. 216; . . .

The *Index* has, obviously, been prepared with meticulous care; careful eyes have done the proofreading; the typography and printing as a whole are worthy of the company this attractive item will keep, namely *The Larkin Papers* themselves.

**Oscar Osburn Winther**, authority on Western American transportation and formerly editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, is professor of history at Indiana University.

*Wild Sports in the Far West.* By Friedrich Gerstacker. Introduction and notes by Edna L. Steeves and Harrison R. Steeves. Reprinted from the English translation of 1854. (Durham, North Carolina: Duke Univ. Press, 1968. 409 pp. $6.50.) Reviewed by Richard N. Ellis

Nineteenth century European visitors to the United States often published accounts of their travels and recorded their observations of American society and life. Friedrich Gerstacker's *Wild Sports in the Far West,* reprinted by Duke University Press is not among the best known books of this type, and rightly so.

Friedrich Gerstacker, a young German who visited the United States between 1837 and 1843, was an unusual figure. He was not the typical European traveler, nor did he write a normal travel account. He was basically a drifter who made his way, largely by foot, to Arkansas and then wandered throughout that region for several years. He worked at odd jobs when he needed money, but his primary interest was hunting, and his book, written from his letters and diary, is largely an account of his exploits in the forest. There are some descriptions of the countryside and of the people and a few comments on the Indian removal policy of the 1830's and the institution of slavery, but there is little else of importance.

Gerstacker lacks the penetrating observations of a Tocqueville or the sharp criticisms of a Harriet Martineau. It is primarily an account of the author's hunting exploits and is of marginal value. This reviewer questions the wisdom of reprinting this book.

**Richard N. Ellis** is an assistant professor of history at the University of New Mexico.

*Whittier: Independent College in California, Founded by Quakers, 1887.* By Charles W. Cooper (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1967. 405 pp. $7.25.) Reviewed by Don A. Nuttall.

Friends' College, creation of the young Quaker colony of Whittier in the boom days of 1887, suffered death in infancy during the California real estate bust of the following year, and completed excavation for the projected college building's basement was soon converted into the town reservoir. Whittier College, tribute to the Whittier Quakers' continued efforts to found their own institution of higher education, was by early 1967 enjoying more auspicious times, with construction of a $3,200,000 science center in the offing. Professor Cooper's book is an account of the premature collapse and phoenix-like rise (from water rather than from ashes, it is true) of that California independent college.

Utilizing a chronological-narrative approach, Professor Cooper has traced Whittier College's eighty years of evolution and experience. He has, in the process, treated the entire spectrum of elements which comprise the whole of an academic community. Major emphasis is upon those educational concerns found within the main tent of Woodrow Wilson's "circus," but due attention is devoted to the co-curricular "side shows." Throughout, he skillfully has placed the college's experience within the context of the international, national, regional, and local milieu.

Professor Cooper has produced a work of considerable historical and literary merit. It is, in fact, one of those relatively rare examples of extremely readable history. The narrative moves and holds one's interest. It contains drama often spiced with humor. The principal personalities involved are multidimensional and alive. Professor Cooper, in sum, proves himself to be a most artful story-teller. Cooper's literary skill would be expected by those familiar with his background as playwright and author. His obvious mastery of the historian's craft comes as a pleasant surprise.

A colorful and interesting preface by Jessamyn West, Whittier College alumna and renowned authoress, enhances the quality of the book. Numerous photographs of personages and events prominent in the college's history comprise another noteworthy feature.

Criticism of Professor Cooper's book is, in most respects, a difficult task. Errors of historical fact are so few that they require no more than passing mention. Although no stranger to their use (having coauthored with E. J. Robins the widely-used *The Term Paper*), Cooper wisely chose not to encumber his pages with footnote citations. He includes, however, a detailed account of his sources, which clearly reveals the abundance of published and unpublished materials with which he worked. And for those who might bemoan the lack of documentation a full set of marginal notes is available in the Whittier College archives. Cooper's index, which principally is confined to "the recurring names and selected topics" might be a source of minor irritation to some.

Professor Cooper's work is most vulnerable to criticism in its final chapter — "New Dimensions of College Growth (1951-1967)". On those pages Cooper details incumbent President Paul S. Smith's contributions to the college's growth and development during sixteen years of devoted leadership. Particularly impressive has been the increase of the college's physical plant and financial resources. Net financial assets of the institution rose fivefold — from $2,600,000 to $14,500,000 — between 1951 and late 1966, at which time Cooper's manuscript was completed. Today they stand at approximately $20,000,000. President Smith, however, would be the first to admit that he has had critics, to accept them as an inevitable occupational hazard, and to entertain their viewpoints. Professor Cooper seems more reluctant to do so, with the result that the objectivity generally characteristic of his book falters. It is to Cooper's credit that he does not ignore the criticism in question. He does, however, tend to minimize or totally deny its validity, and his attitude toward the detractors ranges from condescension to minor hostility — the latter being particularly noticeable in the case of the student publication *Quaker Campus*. Professor Cooper's lengthy and close association with President Smith (since 1960 as presidential assistant) makes his viewpoint understandable. His lack of critical balance in dealing with this period in Whittier College's history, however, constitutes what probably is the major weakness of his work.

Professor Cooper's book nonetheless deserves high rank on the lengthening list of histories of American colleges and universities. It can be enthusiastically recommended not only to those interested in Whittier College or American higher education generally but to all who simply enjoy good history.

DON A. NUTTALL, a doctoral graduate in history from the University of Southern California, is an assistant professor of history at Whittier College.

*Maurice Garland Fulton's History of the Lincoln County War*. Edited by Robert N. Mullin. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968. 433 pp. $8.50.) Reviewed by Odie B. Faulk.

To a large percentage of the public, the American West was the setting for a colossal battle between good and evil — perhaps best described as the good guy-bad guy school of Western history. Engendered by a plethora of pulp magazines and paperback novels, by low-budget movies and hasty television productions, this attitude leaves the impression that the West was conquered by a lawless, restless, brawling, fighting, eye-gouging, ear-biting breed, each with gun hanging low on hip, holster tied securely to thigh, ready to draw and fire with incredible speed and accuracy. The bad guys rode black horses and wore black hats, while the good guys rode white horses and wore white hats. The two sides had their followers in the form of gang and posse, and they clashed with gunfights at high noon, shootouts in the streets, and men ordered to leave town before sundown. All this transpired while the rest of the population sat in a nearby bar, apparently with nothing to do but drink, gamble, and act as witnesses to the violence. Perhaps no name better symbolizes this misconception about the Old West than that of Billy the Kid.

Maurice G. Fulton, aided by an able editor, Robert N. Mullin, has done a disservice to Western buffs of this genre by telling the true story of the Lincoln County War and its most infamous representative, the psychopathic William Antrim, alias William Bonney, alias Billy the Kid. Far from being a Robin Hood — or even an unfortunate victim of circumstances — the Kid was a dupe, caught in a clash which he did not fully understand, a pawn of men fighting for economic and political power. The Lincoln County War was the result of two factions fighting for lucrative beef contracts with the federal government. On one side were Santa Fe political bosses, represented by William Rosenthal, Lawrence G. Murphy, and James J. Dolan; on the other side were independent ranchers John H. Chisum and John Tunstall. The final agony began when Tunstall opened a store in Lincoln to compete with Murphy's emporium. Five months of warfare followed, marked by ambush, sniping, and cold-blooded murder. What the book best reveals is that despicable deeds can result from greed and fear.

Fulton spent more than thirty years researching and writing this book, which was just short of completion at his death. Well-known collector and researcher Mullin completed the task, added an introduction, and edited the complete work. Unfortunately Fulton disliked footnotes — there are only twenty-three in the book — preferring to cite his sources within the text or to quote letters, newspaper articles, and interviews verbatim. This makes for choppy reading and creates some suspicions about the scholarship, especially since the book has no bibliography. However, almost every previous writer of the Lincoln County War has mentioned Fulton's scholarship with awe and noted a debt to Fulton's research. Fulton himself has become the footnote. Four hundred years ago Shakespeare had Mark Antony say, "The evil that men do lives after them, The good is oft interréd with their bones." Certainly the evil that Billy the Kid and the other participants in the Lincoln County War did has lived after them. Fortunately the good that Fulton did has not been interred but is now available in handsome format.

Odie B. Faulk, an authority of Southwestern history, is an associate professor of history at Oklahoma State University.

*The Overland Journey of Joseph Francl, the First Bohemian to Cross the Plains to the California Gold Fields.* Introduction by Richard Brautigan. Illustrations by Patricia Oberhaus. (San Francisco: William P. Wreden, 1968. 55 pp. $25.00.) Reviewed by Dale L. Morgan.

Joseph Francl's narrative of his overland journey to California in 1854 has received very little attention from scholars. Translated into English from the German by his son Fred, and edited by Rose Rosicky, it was serialized in a monthly magazine published at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, *Bratrský Véstník,* March-July, 1928. Copies of these five issues are in the Bancroft Library and doubtless many others. Mr. Wreden has now undertaken a rescue operation which is deserving of applause — up to a point.

The sticking point is that Fred Francl and Rose Rosicky basically did all the labor of scholarship without any credit whatever on the title page. Mr. Wreden's note at the end does not go far enough to make it clear that for good or for ill, Miss Rosicky did *all* the editorial annotation. The Introduction tells us quite a lot about Mr. Brautigan, and the drawings are as revelatory of Miss Oberhaus, but neither gives us a very good idea of either Joseph Francl or his Western experience: the book as published is a showcase for talent, but not primarily Joseph Francl's talent. Somehow this doesn't sit well with me. The documents of our history should not be the exclusive possession of the historians and the pictorial specialists; novelists, poets, graphic artists, and others are urged, by all means, to get into the act, for they can greatly enrich the literature. Nevertheless, history exacts a basic price of admission, and all must be prepared to come up with the price who enter within the doors.

Although it is not to be credited that Francl was the first Bohemian to cross the plains to California — I suspect that an examination of C. W. Haskins' *The Argonauts of '49* would turn up many Bohemian names, five years ahead of Francl — his is nevertheless an interesting and highly individual narrative, written many years later. Leaving his Wisconsin home in the spring of 1854, he made his way to Council Bluffs (the crossing of Iowa picturesquely described), and went on to Salt Lake with John F. Kinney, newly appointed to the Supreme Court of Utah Territory. He recounts the journey well (none of the translators, editors, etc., realizing that when he referred to the "Lucky Ford" he was talking about the Loup Fork of the Platte), but regrettably says very little that has any substance about the Mormons and their city. He continued on to California, but the narrative breaks off while still in the Sierra Nevada.

A supplement made up of extracts of letters written from Placerville and Georgetown between February 3, 1855, and April 12, 1857, is filled with pungent contemporary detail on the state of the failing diggings, one of the best features of the book. Francl eventually returned to Wisconsin, moved to Nebraska in 1869, returned to the Pacific Coast in 1874, and died in Oregon next year, as Miss Rosicky tells us in an extended endnote.

DALE L. MORGAN, distinguished author and foremost specialist on Overland diaries, is on the staff of the Bancroft Library.

*A Kid on the Comstock* by John Taylor Waldorf. Edited by Dolores Waldorf Bryant. (Berkeley: University of California, Keepsakes Number 16, The Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1968. 92 pp.) Reviewed by Benjamin F. Gilbert.

John Taylor Waldorf, a Comstock miner's son, spent his boyhood in Virginia City from 1873 to 1886. When he was thirty-five, Waldorf was hired by Frémont Older in 1905 to write for the San Francisco *Bulletin*. In one assignment he wrote his Comstock reminiscences which were primarily concerned with the play and pranks of children and with their impressions of the Chinese, Indians, and others in the mining area. Although somewhat entertaining, the reminiscences did not have much historical value. However, this reprinting with the editor's Introduction about the Waldorf family and the Comstock environment and her commentaries on the individual stories give the reminiscences a flavor of more significance. The original illustrations by Herb Roth are reproduced in the book. Frémont Older also had hired Roth, a native San Franciscan and a graduate of Polytechnic High School, who later gained fame as a cartoonist on the New York *World*.

In 1893 Waldorf became an apprentice printer in the San Jose *Mercury's* composing room; he was active in the local typographical union, and served a term as president of the Federated Trades Council of Santa Clara County. After his elevation as a cub reporter with the *Mercury,* he was the first journalist on the scene of the gruesome Dunham murders, occurring on May 27, 1896, in a tranquil Santa Clara Valley orchard near Campbell. Later the same year Waldorf prepared himself to take the entrance examinations of Stanford University, and was tutored by Mary Helen Post, an English teacher at San Jose State Normal School. For a brief time he attended Professor Alphonso G. Newcomer's English classes at Stanford, while also gathering news items for the *Mercury* and the San Francisco *Chronicle.* He then joined the *Chronicle* staff covering city hall and police stories, including the bizarre Botkin murders. After Waldorf left Older's *Bulletin,* he did publicity work for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. He later managed publicity for James D. Phelan's successful campaign as a United States Senator. Moving to Washington, D.C., Waldorf was appointed Enrolling and Engrossing Clerk of the Senate. After several years in this post, he worked briefly for the New York *Tribune.* Upon returning to California, he did publicity work for the P.G. & E. and started its magazine, *The Progress.*

The editor in citing sources about Waldorf's tutor, Mary Post, should have listed Estelle Greathead's history of the present San Jose State College for a more relevant and fuller biographical treatment of this particular English teacher. Several errors were noted in the editor's one-page reading list: the most glaring is the title of Edmond M. Gagey's *The San Francisco Stage* as *The San Francisco State;* another is in the title of Joseph L. King's *History of the San Francisco Stock and Exchange Board.*

Benjamin F. Gilbert, author and historian, is professor of history at San Jose State College.

*America's Frontier Heritage,* By Ray Allen Billington. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966. 310 pp. n.p.) Reviewed by Harold A. Whelan.

Frederick Jackson Turner in his essay, "Some Sociological Aspects of American History" says, "To trace the successive stages of this occupation of the continent, and the consequent transformations of American society, is the task of future historians who shall give an adequate explanation of the America of today, its men, its institutions and its issues."

Ray Allen Billington, as editor and driving force behind the implementation of Turner's mandate, set the stage for the treatment of the "successive stages of occupation" in a series of eighteen volumes under the heading of *The Histories of the American Frontier,* written by eminently qualified historians. He then assigned to himself in his *America's Frontier Heritage* the task of exploring whether Turner's thesis is sufficiently comprehensive to give "an adequate explanation of the America of today."

Using Turner's method of the "multiple hypothesis", Billington employs the allied sciences of psychology, sociology, economics, and literature to show that the conquering of the Great West did indeed make an impression upon modern society, but not with the unrestrained conviction of Frederick Jackson Turner. There are sixty-five pages of footnotes in the back of the book that are a veritable treasure trove on Western historiography to the serious scholar. But such profuse annotation tends to obscure the author's proficiency in his subject, and the reader is left with the feeling of disappointment with the lack of originality in a work of this nature.

"The coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and 'inquisitiveness'; the practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic, but powerful to effect great ends, that restless, nervous energy; that dominant energy and exuberance which comes from freedom" are what Turner called the traits of the West. He believed that these characteristics had a deep and enduring effect upon American society. Mr. Billington has examined them from their every aspect.

Although the author's scholarly cautiousness leaves the reader rather bewildered in a sea of confusing opinions, his book is perhaps the most brilliant attempt to fullfill the wishes of Turner. The problems presented in the light of a rapidly changing and complex world, and not just of an isolated American society, make this work one full of challenging and conflicting ideas from which the author leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions.

In his final chapter, Billington shows that unlike Turner, he is not given to blanket statements when he writes, "Those who have read thus far will agree that the frontier's impact on American traits and institutions can never be exactly defined." But some traits which Turner says were influenced by the frontier were exaggerated by foreign observers and are still alive in today's American culture. On this rather tenuous base the author infers that three hundred years of frontiering experience must have played some part in the development of our American heritage. Some of the characteristics that Turner believed were imbedded in our culture can be related to the pioneers' confrontation with the wilderness, but many have become outmoded or nonexistent.

As a long awaited fullfillment of a desire expressed by Frederick Jackson Turner in 1895, *America's Frontier Heritage* is also a forceful argument for further serious study in an area of our national development which has not received the attention it so richly deserves. The book, which is a part of the *Histories of the American Frontier* series, must be read to give greater depth and meaning to all the other *Frontier* works. But taken on its own merits, it is a book that has been long overdue and a valuable addition to any scholar's library.

**Father Whelan** earned his master's degree in history at California State College at Los Angeles. He is the Archivist and Historian for the California Province of the Sacred Hearts Fathers. A former member of the Social Studies Steering Committee of the School Board of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, he is now currently pursuing his studies for a doctorate at the University of Southern California.

*The Vallejos of California.* By Madie Brown Emparan. (San Francisco: The Gleeson Library Associates, 1968. 464 pp. $25.00.) Reviewed by John B. McGloin, S.J.

This excellently designed and well printed volume is the first publication of the Gleeson Library Associates of the University of San Francisco. The superior craftsmanship of Lawton and Alfred Kennedy is shown all through the interesting pages of the volume. Although not an inexpensive book, the large volume should find a place in the libraries of all serious collectors of the important books which concern California's past.

Although the phrase "a labor of love" could be called a bit trite, it is hard to think of a better one when writing about how this book came to be. Madie Brown Emparan, wedded to Richard Raoul Emparan, General Vallejo's grandson, comes quite legitimately by her high interest in the story of what she writes over a long period of time. Not only has she served as Curator of the Vallejo home in Sonoma — "Lachryma Montis" — from 1947 to 1962, but, even before, she was interested in recapturing as much of the authentic Vallejo story as possible. Correctly, she learned after patient research — much of it in the prime materials which are quoted extensively in this book — that there was either ignorance with regard to the General himself or simply the passing on of incomplete vignettes about him which fall quite short of furnishing those interested with the whole story. Hence the author's determination, now happily realized, to present the "Complete Vallejo" in these pages. It would be difficult, it seems, to find any point of essential importance about the Vallejos of California which has not been treated in this present work; like Rome, it was not built in a day but, again like Rome, now that it is completed, it stands forth in imperial and impressive proportions.

The first 200 pages of this book are concerned with a detailed account of the life history of General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, 1807-1890. Seemingly, it was the author's purpose here to relate this life with the relevant events on California's past which concerned Vallejo and with which, in many cases, he was directly involved. While much of what is told here will already be quite well known to those conversant with the California story, they will find it here against a different frame of reference that will enable them to form their judgments as to the importance of Vallejo as well as his virtues, defects and important place in our past. Some may find the style a bit abrupt and even choppy in places: one must remind oneself that what is here presented is, in the best sense of the word, a complete source book covering the Vallejo story. The thrust here, at least as this reviewer sees it, is in the direction of exactness and completeness rather than merely in "spinning a story." The second half of the book is devoted to warm and colorful accounts — surely, they are more than sketches — of all of the Vallejo family, starting with Doña Francisca Benicia Carrillo de Vallejo, the General's wife. An impressive array of information concerning the family finds its way into this section of the book. Certainly, the life histories here presented contain many details which it would be difficult to come by save here.

The present reviewer, while recognizing certain limitations in this book, must acknowledge that, even though he has taught the Vallejo story for two decades now in California history classes, his opinions concerning various facets of this story have undergone mental revision and a certain refining process which should make him more cautious in remarks concerning Vallejo. He was interested to learn that Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco was not Vallejo's especial "cup of tea" — but the reader will soon find out why as he reads on. Father Engelhardt, redoubtable Franciscan historian, does not like Vallejo in his highly opinionated *Missions and Missionaries of California* but, it would seem, that his strictures are not well founded in regard to certain phases of the Vallejo family history. After all, it was not difficult to be liberally damned by Engelhardt if, in his opinion, one was not what he considered he should have been! It would seem, then, that the Vallejo that comes through in these pages, based as they are on solid historical materials including many of the General's letters, is about as close to the real Vallejo as we need ever look for. To have brought all this to pass is the high achievement of this present volume.

JOHN B. MCGLOIN is professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

*Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North-West Coast of America.* By John Meares. Bibliotheca Australiana, 22. (Amsterdam and New York: N. Israel and Da Capo Press, 1967. 596 pp. $35.00.) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

The voyage of John Meares to the Northwest Coast (British Columbia) was among the most important of its kind, principally because of his excellent descriptions and his presence during a crucial time in the history of the region. Outfitted in India, Meares with the *Felice,* and William Douglas with the *Iphigenia Nubiana,* set sail for the Hawaiian Islands in January, 1788, with a cargo of cattle. Although this was his most famous voyage, Meares was not a novice in the trans-Pacific trade of England, having conducted a voyage to the Northwest Coast in 1786.

The ships separated at Hawaii and Meares arrived at Vancouver Island in May, 1788, and commenced trade for highly prized sea otter pelts with the two principal chieftains of the Nootka Sound area, Wicananish of the Clayoquot and Maquinna of the Nootka. Following this trading session, in June Meares sailed southward to the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Oregon coast and returned to Clayoquot where he remained until September trading for pelts. Meares' observations during this stay relative to the weather, natural history, native culture, and methods of whale fishing are detailed and among the finest available.

Prior to his return to the Orient, Meares met the *Washington* under the Bostonian Robert Gray, and although competitors, the exchange was amicable. Douglas with the *Iphigenia Nubiana* also reached Nootka after sailing to Kodiak Island, and following a short trading session sailed for Hawaii while Meares continued to Macao.

Douglas returned to Nootka in June of 1789 to find the *Columbia* under Gray and the *Washington* under another Bostonian, John Kendrick, at anchor. Although free trade had been the rule at Nootka, Spain's claims to the area dating from the sixteenth century were being exerted in the form of the arrest of the English Captain James Colnett and his crew and the impounding of his ships the *Princess Royal* and the *Argonaut* by the Spanish commandant Esteban José Martínez. Given the opportunity to avoid involvement in what was to become the Nootka Sound Controversy, Douglas set sail for Macao in August.

Following the description of the voyages, Meares includes a series of tables relative to the routes covered, navigational and meteorological observations, as well as letters and instructions, and the journal of Robert Duffin of the exploration of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Also deeply interested in Britain's position in the Nootka Sound Controversy, Meares concludes his appendix with a Memorial to the House of Commons relative to the Colnett incident as well as depositions and documents relative to the seizure of the *Princess Royal*.

Originally published in London by the Logographic Press in 1790, this second edition faithfully reproduces, in facsimile and on fine paper, not only the text but also the 27 maps and plates of the first and only other edition. At a fraction of the price of the first edition, Meares, a classic in its field, is a valuable contribution to the history of voyages and discovery.

W. Michael Mathes, author of *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580-1630,* is assistant professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

*El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles: An Inquiry into Early Appellations.* By Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles: Plantin Press, 1968. 17 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by John A. Schutz.

Curiously the full name of Los Angeles has been misused by historians and town leaders even before her founding in 1781. Named after the brook that once flowed across the coastal plain, Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula, the town was the site of an asistencia of Mission San Gabriel. The first baptismal entry registers the town name as does Father Francisco Palóu who noted in his memoirs details of her founding and Felipe de Neve who supervised her building. So the town on the banks of the Porciúncula was properly entitled Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula.

But contemporary and later chronicles added *La Reina* to the name. Although there is no reason for associating La Reina with Porciúncula, at least not any evidence Father Weber could find, the association was made. Today a seminary, hospital, and school include *La Reina* in their title, without any historical justification except that they are following ecclesiastical verbiage of an earlier generation.

Father Weber's essay is as graciously written as it is attractively presented. In a few pages he tells a story of a city that can be told of few others.

John A. Schutz is professor of history at the University of Southern California.

*This Was Pioneer Motoring*. By Robert F. Karolevitz. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1968. 192 pp. $12.95.) Reviewed by John B. Rae.

The output of books on the early days of the automobile has become almost as torrential as the output of books about trains. This one is better than most because it is something more than a collection of pictures of old cars. The author has made an effort to combine text and illustrations in a topical pattern so as to bring out several salient features of the emergence of the automobile in American life. Beginning with a section on the origins of the motor vehicle, the book looks into such topics as racing and long-distance tours, the founders of the automobile industry, the Model T, road conditions, service facilities, and all the panorama of early motoring.

It is a fascinating collection, but it gets off to a poor start because the author obviously did not take the trouble to find out why Oliver Evans called his invention of 1805 the *Oruktor Amphibolos*. It means "the digger that works both ways," which is precisely what Evans's steam-powered dredge was supposed to do and did. To compensate, there are accounts of little-known sagas such as the 1905 transcontinental journey of two curved-dash Oldsmobiles, "Old Scout" and "Old Steady," and the last of the Glidden Tours, from Minneapolis to Glacier National Park, in 1913.

What Mr. Karolevitz has achieved is to convey a sense of what it was like to drive a car in the days when an automobile was still a horseless carriage and there was no real assurance that it would actually replace the horse.

We have become comfortably conditioned to setting out in our cars with the assurance that there would be good roads to where we were going and that service facilities would be available wherever we wanted or needed them. What was it like sixty years ago? To cite one simple need, where did the motorist go to buy gasoline? If there was trouble on the road, as there frequently was with those early vehicles, where did the service come from? Too often there was no service. The pioneer motorist had to provide for his own needs — carry his own gas and be prepared to make his own repairs. Mr. Karolevitz has, in the current expression, "told it like it was." The account may evoke nostalgia, but nostalgia can be endured as long as we do not actually have to go back to those days.

This is an entertaining book and something more. It is a contribution to the still unwritten social history of the American automobile.

John B. Rae is professor of History at Harvey Mudd College.

*Diamondfield Jack (A Study in Frontier Justice)*. By David H. Grover. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1968. 177 pp. $5.00.). Reviewed by McIntyre Faries.

This little book of 177 pages is different from most of today's books dealing with historical characters and events. For instance, it is not full of fictional conversations, does not dwell at length on scenery, the central figure is not really the hero, there is no heroine (there is but one woman in the book and she is rather a "character" who appears only in the sequel) and it is not a love story — unless one can speak of love of justice creating a love story. Nevertheless, it is fascinating reading, most worthwhile; and, for those interested in the West in the 1890's and early 1900's, those who are interested in law and justice of the West at that time, those who are nostalgic (as I am) about the life in that era among the cowmen and sheepherders of the West, it should almost be required reading.

Diamondfield Jack was, as so many of those men were, initially from the South and his true name was Jack Davis. He made his way into the West where he lived as a garrulous cowboy signing on as a gunman for cattle interests in southern Idaho and northern Nevada in the early '90's. The need for a gunman existed because of the constant pushing west of the sheepmen and the attempt of the cattlemen to maintain a line of demarcation.

The decaying bodies of two sheepmen were found in their wagon, the dogs still tethered thereto. Talkative Diamondfield was charged with the murder. The cattle interests provided the lawyer for the defense, and he was a great lawyer — tenacious, able and highly respected. James H. Hawley, Esq., really might be called the important character of the book. Making his way to fame as a prosecutor was William E. Borah, later United States Senator from Idaho. The trial, conviction and the many, many steps thereafter which occurred (I will not disclose just what happened) took almost as long as the Chessman case. They were well timed, legitimate and fought intelligently over six years, whereas Chessman finally was executed after about eight. You will enjoy following the trial and maneuvering. Diamondfield's later life, the many characters he met and with whom he lived and worked are of historic interest. You will no doubt recognize names and places. The book is documented. I am sorry it does not contain Borah's speech which he is said to have delivered at the trial for murder but apparently did not. Also I am sorry not to have learned more about Diamondtooth Lil, Nevada, mining in the 1900's, the connections (if any) between the Mormon church and the sheepmen, the Republican and Democrat groups which may or may not have been involved in the prosecution, what took place later, etc. Perhaps the writer will do a sequel. If it is done, I will read it and I hope it will be like this book — factual, good history and good reading.

McIntyre Faries, a learned jurist, has served for many years as a judge of the Superior Court, Los Angeles County.

*Rudolph James Wig: Engineer, Presbyterian Layman, Pomona College Trustee.* By Clifford Merrill Drury. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968. 320 pp. $6.50.) Reviewed by George H. Sage.

The subject of this biography, Rudolph James Wig, is truly "A Man For All Seasons." It heightens one's faith in humanity to read about such a man. The author, Clifford M. Drury, made a wise choice when he decided to write a biography of Wig for it is a story that needed telling. Drury fortunately had access to a good deal of primary source material from which he weaves a fascinating story of a remarkable man.

The story of Wig's life is divided into four parts in the book. The first part tells of his ancestry, childhood, and marriage. His professional career as an engineer and industrialist is described in Part Two. Part Three deals with his committee work and philanthropy with the Goodwill Industries, Pomona and the other Claremont Colleges, and higher education in California. The last part details his work with regional and national committees and commissions of the Presbyterian Church and other interdenominational organizations.

R. J. Wig was the son of a Hungarian immigrant, Jozsef Gyurkotzy, who came to the United States in 1864. Settling in the Midwest, Gyurkotzy changed his name to Wig; he then married and he and his wife had five children, four boys and a girl. Rudolph J. Wig was the fourth of the children and was born October 3, 1883. His early childhood was a pleasant, comfortable, and simple life, with his mother responsible for most of his upbringing, since his father was a traveling salesman.

Drury makes use of Wig's wife's (the former Anna May Bartlett) diary from 1901 to 1905 to trace the thread of their meeting and courtship and to reveal the personality of both of them. The reader will find this a unique and intimate look into the lives of two young persons at the beginning of the twentieth century. After a seven-year courtship, they were married in 1910.

Wig graduated from Lewis Institute — now Illinois Institute of Technology — in 1907, with a degree in mechanical engineering. Study and research into the structural strength of concrete led to his employment with the United States Geological Survey, which was transferred to the Bureau of Standards in 1910. Wig's research into the uses of concrete led to his developing plans and supervising the building of concrete ships in World War I. To carry out these tasks, he left the Bureau of Standards in 1917 to become a Chief Engineer for the United States Shipping Board. Here he remained for about two years.

Wig left government service in 1919 and entered into private industry with the Celite Products Company of Los Angeles, which owned the huge deposits of diatomaceous earth at Lompoc, California. Wig's job was to solve the financial problems of the company. Largely through his administrative efficiency, the financial affairs of the company were reorganized, and the company was transformed from near bankruptcy to a thriving organization.

In 1929 a new business venture captured the interest of Wig. He and some of his associates acquired a small chemical company and incorporated it as the Kelco Company. This company developed many uses for kelp and other seaweed products. From 1929 to 1949 Wig served as vice-president and member of the board of directors. Other business ventures, from an efficiency administrator at Douglas and Timm Aircraft Corporations during World War II to a gentleman citrus farmer, occupied his attention until his retirement in 1949.

Wig's activities in charitable, educational, and religious organizations began while he was professionally active and extended throughout his years of retirement (he never considered himself retired). While his business interests demanded most of his time and attention, his service activities were limited, but after his sixty-fifth birthday, he engaged in an awesome number of activities. In the 1950's he was simultaneously a member of over thirty different boards or committees. For thirty-eight years Wig was a Pomona College trustee. For thirty-two years he was treasurer of the Goodwill Industries of Los Angeles. He devoted twenty-nine years to the Church Extension Board of Los Angeles Presbytery. He was founder and president for several years of the Association of Independent California Colleges and Universities. This is a list of only a few of Wig's activities. Drury uses two full pages (pp. 186-187) to catalog the more important committees, boards, or organizations of which Wig was a member.

Wig and his wife had three daughters. It is evident that his family was an absorbing interest of his. Notwithstanding his busy schedule of business and philanthropic activities, he still had time to encourage the educational, musical, and religious undertakings of his daughters. When his daughters married and had children, he lavished love and affection on his grandchildren.

In a conversation with Drury before his death, Wig said that his wife had given him some good advice that had been a part of his life's philosophy. She had said, "If you have done the best you know how, truly your best, that is all God should ask of you and you should not have to worry." It seems abundantly clear from Wig's accomplishments that he really did live by this philosophy. He died on April 8, 1968, just one week before this book was scheduled to be released.

Mr. Drury's readable style, scholarly research, and truly remarkable subject combine to give the reader an insightful perspective into the contributions of one man to California and the nation.

George H. Sage is an associate professor at Colorado State College.

*The Enterprising Scot: Investors in the American West after 1873*. By W. Turrentine Jackson. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1968. $12.50.) Reviewed by Dwight L. Clarke.

In referring to the British people, we Americans are prone to think of the Scots as identical with the English, an error never committed by the former, and only by the latter at the risk of heated argument. Professor Jackson wrote this book with other objects in mind but in so doing strongly emphasized the basic differences in backgrounds and institutions of those who dwell north and south of the Tweed.

The book is an introductory survey of Scottish-American economic history. It records the part played in the development of the American Middle and Far West by Scottish enterprises in the nineteenth century. It concerns itself rather with the activities of corporate groups than with the fortunes of individual immigrants. These groups were largely made up of merchants and manufacturers located in Edinburgh and Dundee and to a less extent in Glasgow and Aberdeen.

Professor Jackson's pages are not filled with romantic tales of Scottish pioneers in western agriculture and mining nor with their vicissitudes while raising cattle on the Great Plains. Romance and adventure are implicit in such a recital, but this is no script for movie writers or television stars.

In the early nineteenth century, the undeveloped areas west of the Mississippi attracted large amounts of European capital, mainly from Great Britain. Investments in land and natural resources, bonds of federal, state and local governments and especially the securities of the rapidly expanding railroads were favorites. From the close of the Civil War to the Panic of 1873 it is estimated foreign capital employed in the United States had grown to one and one-half billions of dollars. Despite a slight withdrawal during the depression of the 1870's, investors in England and especially in Scotland continued to export funds, so that by the outbreak of world war in 1914, the stake of overseas capitalists in America was between five and seven billions.

The capital migrating from Great Britain was the property of many individual investors, as well as the underwritings of large investment banking houses, mainly in London. While some of these investors were Scots, the latter developed and largely used institutions of their own invention. Only by studying the impressive records that Professor Jackson has assembled are we likely to realize the major role played by Scottish capital in the development of the American West. Even more impressive is the same record viewed from the Scottish standpoint. One of its own commentators noted as early as 1884: "In proportion to her size and the number of her population, she (Scotland) furnishes far more of it than either of the other kingdoms . . . England sparingly . . . Ireland hardly any, but Scotland revels in foreign investment."

The first limited liability joint stock companies organized to invest in the United States began business in Edinburgh in 1873 and 1874 — the Scottish-American Investment Company, Limited, and the Scottish-American Mortgage Company, Limited. Each enjoyed a long, successful existence and richly rewarded its shareholders. While many of these were residents of Edinburgh, a large number of subscribers lived in Dundee and some in Glasgow. The first named company planned primarily to invest in railroad securities, the second in mortgage loans on farms and urban property.

Professor Jackson moralizes on the proverbial canniness of the Scots. In the creation of most of these trusts and mortgage companies, this trait seems to have predominated. Some of the organizers made long journeys to survey the areas and industries in which funds were to be invested. Local agents were carefully selected and trained. Sound operating rules were adopted. Many of the companies later started were not so wisely guided. Some of them were profitable; quite a number fared badly. As in all financial endeavors, the price for careless disregard of safe fundamentals was high.

There is a general impression among many present day mortgage lenders that the long term loan whose principal is repayable in installments (usually monthly) was largely the product of the Federal Housing Administration in the early

1930's. They may be surprised to learn from Professor Jackson that sixty years earlier, these Scottish mortgage lenders made monthly installment repayment a cardinal requirement in all their lending. Initially loans were usually for small amounts by present day standards. Interest at 7%, 8%, and even sometimes more was charged when money in Scotland was commanding 4% or 4½%. The security was lands scattered among many states. Experience with Scandinavian and German farmers was especially good.

Space does not permit mention of many interesting promotions of this period. It is singular however to find how many of the more successful concerns were organized or largely owned in Dundee, which even today has a population well under two hundred thousand. Comment was made in 1886 that residents of Dundee had overseas investments between nine and ten times the value of the total realty within the burgh. Two remarkable men, Robert Fleming and William Mackenzie, contributed materially to the great success achieved by the Dundee trust companies.

Soon some of the Scottish companies branched out into large scale timber operations in the redwoods of northern California, into cattle ranching and gold, silver and copper mining. Again the record was a checkered one. Serious scandal involved fraudulent land entries in the redwoods. Cattle raising prospered for a time; then droughts, severe winters and a depressed market for beef cost the Scots dearly. As one scans the mining ventures listed by Professor Jackson, it seems possible that some disillusioned Scotchman may have coined the recipe for making money in mining — "stay out of it". In case after case, the Scottish promoters installed expensive machinery and did much development work only to find they had no profitable ore body.

Brilliant exceptions appear in these chronicles. In a list of California speculations is the success story of the Jumper Mine in the hamlet of Stent in Tuolumne County, which grossed its Glasgow owners some $3,000,000.00 from a modest initial investment. A far greater success was enjoyed by the Scottish-American Mortgage Company of Edinburgh which in the 1880's ventured into copper mining at Clifton, Arizona. The outcome of this was the famous Arizona Copper Company, Ltd., Scotland's most heavily capitalized mining venture of the nineteenth century. Its success continued well into the twentieth century, and is estimated to have paid six million pounds in dividends between 1901 and 1921.

Equally spectacular was one of the Dundee company's ventures in the volatile cattle business, the Matador Land and Cattle Company, Ltd. in Texas. Starting in 1882 with capital of 400,000.00 pounds, its stockholders who held on through good and evil times, sold out in 1951 for over thirty times their original cost, after having received on an average about 15% per annum in dividends for thirty years. It is true that oil discovered in the company's last years played a part in this good fortune.

Since this is a book primarily for students and researchers in the field of economic history, the numerous well documented footnotes and an excellent bibliography and index add materially to its value.

An error is apparent on page 155; the word "mortgagees" should have been used in the phrase "because mortgagors threatened to foreclose". Then on page 245, the same error occurs in reverse, when the text reads: "owing to the inability of mortgagees to meet their obligations". Here, of course, the sense calls for "mortgagors".

DWIGHT L. CLARKE is a former banker and life insurance company president. He is a Fellow of the California Historical Society, and at present one of its Trustees and a member of its Publications Committee.

*Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement.* By Thomas D. Clark. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969. 836 pp. $8.75.) Reviewed by Merrill J. Mattes.

The American westward movement truly began in 1607 in Virginia, the first permanent English colony on the Atlantic seaboard. The "westward movement" in terms of population shift is still going on, but Professor Clark accepts the usual historical convention that the frontier, in terms of "conquering the West," was closed in 1890, when the last armed Indian uprising was quelled in the blood-letting at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

The spasmodic but relentless advance of the frontier, taking three hundred years to travel across a band one thousand miles wide and three thousand miles long, was a vital factor in all phases of American history to 1890 — military, political, economic, social and intellectual. Hence a book on this subject is a rather enormous undertaking. *Frontier America* (a new edition of the 1959 original) has over eight hundred big pages but even on this scale the subject can be treated only in broad outline. Indeed, this is intended primarily as a college text-book; the thirty-two chapter bibliographies suggest the hundreds of avenues which radiate from the central theme.

Anyone who tries to cover the whole wide frontier world in one volume runs the danger of being thin and superficial. Professor Clark avoids this by vigorous writing, the use of colorful detail, and a masterful breakdown and balancing of the subthemes.

The introductory chapter offers some useful generalizations and tantalizing paradoxes. Never in the history of the world, the author points out, was so much virgin territory brought under civilized control in so short a time. In its broadest meaning this is the account of the molding of people of diverse origins and motives into a fairly homogeneous national group. In its more localized implications, this is the story of thousands of communities evolving from the primitive harshness of first settlement to the refinements of a far-flung technology. The most important ingredients in the frontier pattern were (1) spaciousness, the immensity of forest, prairie and sky, with (2) the concomitant illusion of an earthly paradise of unlimited resources which would usher in Utopia; and, within this pattern, (3) the availability of land for everyone, soil rich and bound-less enough to fulfill — or so it would seem, for a few decades at least — the American dream.

If there is a distinctive American character, it was certainly molded by the frontier experience. The hereditary European character was a composite of the lowly serf, the grubby merchant and the arrogant lord; but this stratified character was transmuted by the new set of values resulting from interaction with the American wilderness. Here emerged a new variety of *Homo Sapiens*, culturally speaking, with certain common denominators — independence, daring, disdain of old country conventions, love of political brawling, hatred of taxation, and a cheerful and prodigal consumption of natural resources. In the mid-twentieth century the stress and strain of new frontiers — psychological and technological — is compelling alterations to the image; but the roots of the American character, or mystique, cannot be understood today without an understanding of this earlier frontier heritage.

Excellent maps and illustrations help to relieve the tedium of some 350,000 words. Another device is the use of a pertinent contemporary quotation to introduce each chapter. Particularly intriguing is this passage from the French observer, De Tocqueville: "Millions of men are marching at once towards the same horizon; their language, their religion, their manners differ, their object is the same. The gifts of fortune are promised in the West, and to the West they bend their course.

MERRILL J. MATTES, author and authority on the American West, is a member of the National Park Service.

Carl Brent Swisher, *Motivation and Political Technique in the Constitutional Convention*, 1878-79, New York: Da Capo Press, 1969. 132 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Edgar F. Love.

Dr. Swisher in this interesting reprint of a monograph written in 1930, before the political behaviorialists became so popular, attempts to explain the factors leading up to the calling of the California Constitutional Convention of 1878-79, the dynamics of the political struggle that took place at the convention, and to assess the work and goals of the delegates. The author maintains that the delegates sought "to solve permanently problems which the existing political organization had refused or neglected to solve. They were the representatives of an outraged people who demanded that they get immediate results." The ferment of the people centered around the issues of regulating the railroads and other corporations, the unequal burdens of taxation, the problems of race relations, and the clash between the interests of capitalists, farmers and laborers. Dr. Swisher asserts that nothing was done about these important problems "until men who were manifestly unable to handle the situation forced the issue."

The main thesis of Dr. Swisher's study is that the Constitution of 1879 was the result of conflicting self interests among three diverse and incompatible groups, who were more concerned with the special interest of their constituents than the welfare of the State of California. These three groups included the following: (1) the conservative capitalists, largely represented at the convention by lawyers and a few large land holders; (2) the small farmers, who were generally opposed to the corporations and monopolist and outraged at the system of taxation; and (3) the city laborers, who as a propertyless class had little stake in the existing order. According to Swisher, each of the above groups thought that they were the true representatives of the people and, therefore, fought bitterly to ensure that the cause they championed would in fact triumph. The farmers and the laborers, especially the delegates of the ethnocentric Workingmen's Party, naively thought that they were achieving through this constitution "unchangeable legislation, free from the trammels of legislative amendment and judicial interpretation . . ." The conservative big businessmen, whose delegates at the constitutional convention diligently sought to maintain the *status quo,* were never satisfied with the constitution and soon discovered effective means in later years of effectively negating the reform programs set forth in the constitution.

This reviewer suspects that if Dr. Swisher were to update his study, in light of the political events and climate after 1930, he would revaluate some of his conclusions. Dr. Swisher suggests, for example, the need for another constitutional convention and hopes that "the new convention will be held in calmer times, that the new constitution will contain more of vision and less of narrow mandate." These are noble sentiments and hopes, but apparently we will have a long wait before the "calmer days" arrive in California. The ethnocentric nature of California politics existed long before 1878, and the Workingmen's Party of the 1870's, who stressed the slogan "The Chinese must go", have their contemporary counterparts. The "blind fervor of racial prejudice," which Swisher states was so pronounced at the time of California Constitutional Convention of 1878-79, is still part of the California scene.

Dr. Swisher takes the position that the constitutional convention was a failure and that the constitution adopted was hardly suited to effectively deal with the problems of our state. In the light of the author's analysis of the motivations and techniques of the delegates, it would have been almost impossible in 1878 for the delegates to have written a constitution to deal with future problems and not to have represented the narrow interests of special groups. On the other hand, Professor Swisher, writing in 1930, believed that there was a possibility that the next constitutional convention might be motivated by "enlightened utilitarianism" of individuals "who have the greatest capacity for looking ahead and planning a harmonious political organization of the state as it will be." It remains to be seen whether this idealist goal will be achieved.

EDGAR F. LOVE, who is on the staff of the Political Science Department at El Camino College, also teaches United States Negro history at the University of Southern California.

# In Memoriam

## WALTER AUGUSTUS STARR
1877-1969

Walter Augustus Starr, capitalist, conservationist and industrialist died on August 22, 1969, at his Piedmont home at the age of 92.

Mr. Starr was born on March 14, 1877, in San Francisco. He was the son of William McKendry Starr and Kate Florence (Calkin) Starr. The Starr family has been associated in the flour milling and wheat exporting business in the Sacramento Valley since a few years after gold was discovered.

Walter Starr attended Oakland elementary and high schools. He graduated in 1897 from the University of California. His plans for a career in the Starr Company, a grain and milling business, were wrecked by the depression of 1893-97. Immediately after graduation he spent three years along the Yukon River prospecting for gold and transporting mail by dog sled from Skagway for the government. He related his experiences in a book *My Adventures in the Klondike and Alaska 1898-1900*.

Mr. Starr returned to San Francisco, took over operations of the Occidental Warehouse. Two years later he started his own grain and feed milling business and became a member of the San Francisco Merchants Exchange. From 1912 to 1919 he grew grain and operated a large farm in the San Joaquin Valley.

During World War I he became a "Dollar a Year Man", from 1917 to 1920, with the federal government in the United States Food Administration Corporation. In 1921, Mr. Starr re-entered the business world and became associated with Edward L. Eyre and Company, grain merchants and exporters. He became a member of the Chicago Board of Trade.

In 1932 the Soundview Pulp Company was organized and Mr. Starr became an original director and vice-president. In 1951 Soundview Pulp Company was merged with Scott Paper and Mr. Starr was a director of the company until his retirement in 1959. Other business interests included mining developments in Nevada and California during the period of 1905 to 1935.

Mr. Starr's activities included being a director and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Central Bank, Oakland, 1933 to 1947; director of the Yosemite Park and Curry Company from 1935 and chairman of the Industrial Advisory Committee of the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco during the years 1935 to 1955. He joined the California Historical Society in 1935, was a trustee from 1939 to 1947; vice-president of the Society, 1940-1942; served as president 1942 to 1943; and in 1963 was elected a Fellow of the Society. He also was a director of the Save the Redwoods League. As a director and president of the Sierra Club, he will be remembered for his excellent work in conservation. He held member-ships in the Society of California Pioneers, the Pacific Union Club, Merchants Exchange Club and the Commonwealth Club of California.

In September, 1962, Mr. Starr wrote an article for the California Historical Society Quarterly "Drake Landed in San Francisco Bay in 1579".

On May 30, 1902, Walter Starr married Carmen Moore of Oakland. Mr. Starr is survived by Mrs. Starr and their son Allan. An older son, Walter, lost his life on August 3, 1933, mountain climbing in the high Sierra.

With the death of Walter Starr a long life of many accomplishments terminates. The community lost a noble citizen, an honorable man, a devoted conservationist and an outstanding industrialist.

EDGAR M. KAHN

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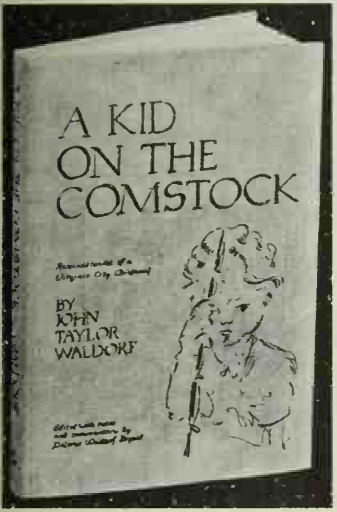

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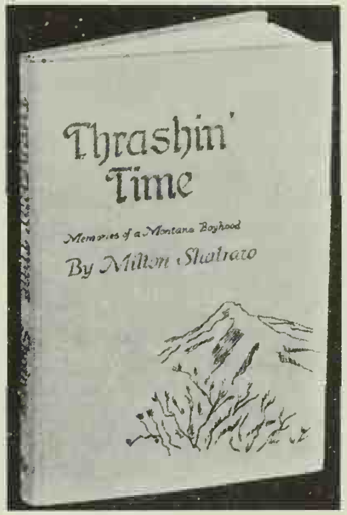

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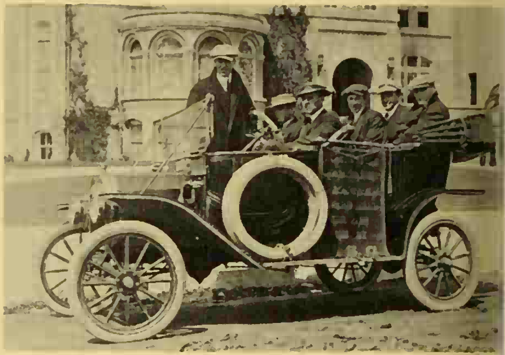

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# Wells Fargo Staging over the Sierra

*By* W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

WELLS, FARGO & CO.'s interests in stagecoaches in the last century were many and varied. These included direct ownership and operation of stagelines, even though no provision was included in the firm's original articles of association specifically authorizing such activities.[1] Early announcements stated the company's intention to undertake the forwarding of "packages, parcels, and freight of all descriptions" between New York and San Francisco and throughout California, and to purchase and sell gold dust, bullion, and bills of exchange, to pay and collect notes, bills, and accounts, and to forward gold dust, bullion, and specie."[2] Securing adequate and reliable transportation was important from the first not only for the business of the company but also to provide passenger and mail transportation for the public.

Following the establishment of its Express and Banking Headquarters on Montgomery Street in San Francisco in July, 1852, Wells Fargo immediately started building up the network of express lines and offices which ultimately was to cover the entire western United States. First steps were to establish agencies in the principal California supply towns and goldmining camps and to assure the transportation services to connect them, whether by stagecoach, wagon, or pony rider. At this time, next in importance to San Francisco in the state, were three towns which served as gateways to the major mining areas: Marysville, Sacramento, and Stockton. To serve these centers and their hinterlands Wells Fargo either developed its own services or purchased the express and transportation facilities of other companies. In 1852, Wells, Fargo & Co. advertised that it was operating daily expresses to Marysville and Sacramento and had made arrangements to deliver into Stockton on C. A. Todd's "Southern Express."[3] A year later Todd sold out his stage and express business to Wells

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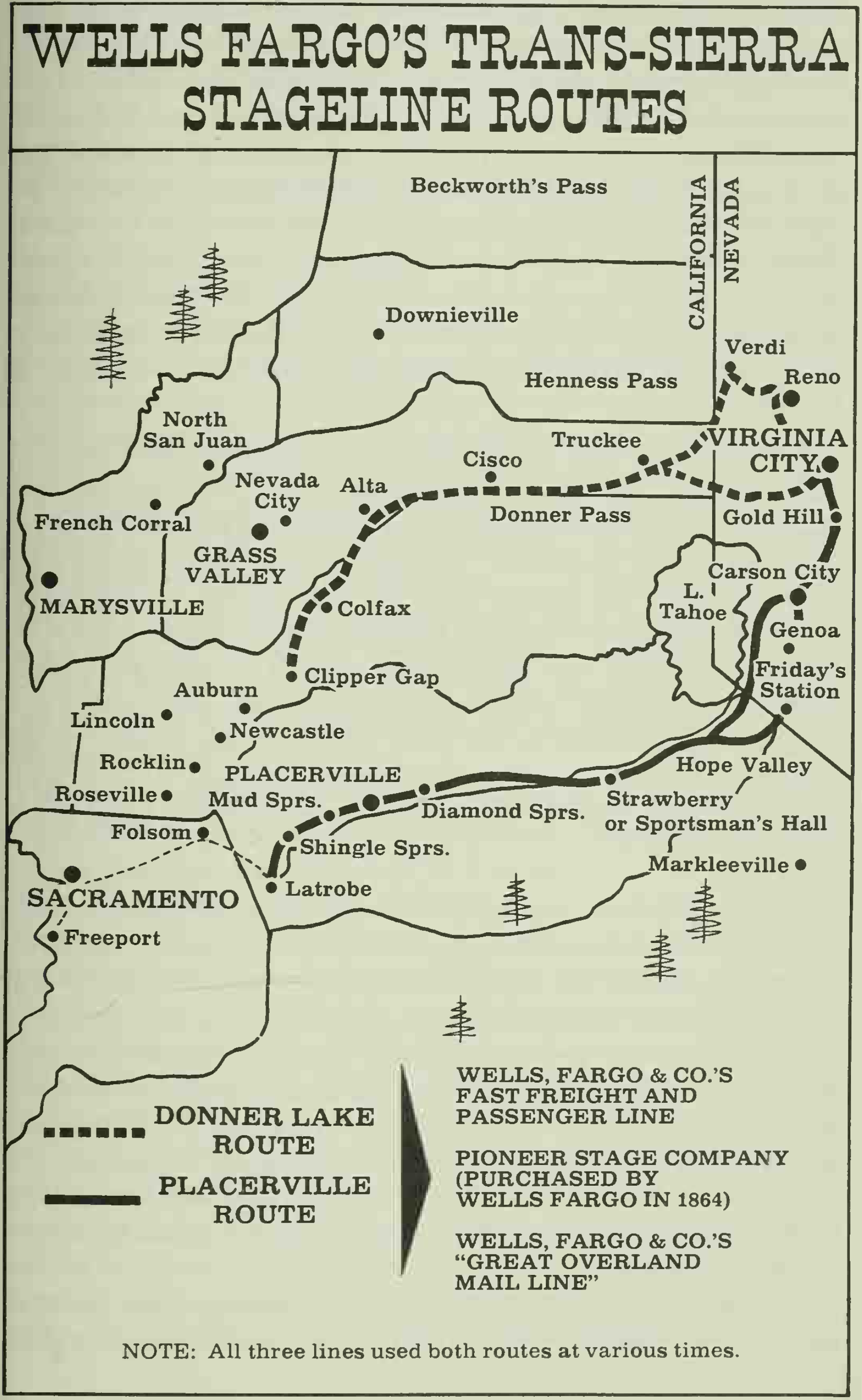
W. TURRENTINE JACKSON, a prolific and distinguished author of scholarly books and articles in Western United States history, is professor of history at the University of California, Davis.

Fargo.[4] At Sacramento, connections were made with Hunter & Co.'s daily stages, in operation since 1851, to make deliveries into Placerville. In 1854, Wells, Fargo & Co. purchased Hunter & Co.'s Express and thereby obtained its stage equipment, offices, and express business in twenty-eight towns in El Dorado and Placer Counties.[5] In Placer County, for example, the company advertised that it was conducting its business from three principal offices in Ophir, Auburn, and Yankee Jim's, with routes that extended to every camp and bar where miners were congregated.[6] In this manner, within a period of two or three years a communications network had been established to make the company's services available in the most strategic areas of California.

Wells Fargo's direct ownership and operation of trans-Sierra stagelines began in June of 1864 with the starting of a "Fast Freight Line"[7] which the following year began carrying passengers[8] and was later advertised as "Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Fast Freight and Passenger Line."[9] As far as passengers were concerned, this was always a second class line offering transportation at cut rates. Later in 1864 Wells Fargo purchased the very popular and well-equipped Pioneer Stage Line from Louis McLane & Co.[10] and at first operated this line as a wholly owned subsidiary under the Pioneer name. For nearly two years it was not generally known to the public that the line was owned by Wells Fargo. In November, 1866, newspapers throughout the nation carried the sensational news of a "Grand Consolidation" combining in one firm an enormous express and staging empire. Wells, Fargo & Co. and its subsidiary, the Pioneer Stage Company, had been consolidated with the Overland Mail Co. and the Holladay Overland Mail and Express Co. In addition, the express business of the American Express Co. and the United States Express Co. west of the Missouri River were included in the firm known as Wells, Fargo & Co.[11] Two-thirds of the directors of the consolidated company had been associated with the original Wells, Fargo & Co., and Louis McLane, who had been Wells Fargo's general manager for California since 1855, was elected president of the new company.[12]

In considering Wells Fargo's trans-Sierra stagelines we shall be concerned with two main routes over the mountains: one between Placerville, California, and Virginia City, Nevada, running south of Lake Tahoe and known as the "Placerville Route," and one running north of Lake Tahoe and generally referred to as the "Dutch Flat-



WELLS FARGO'S TRANS-SIERRA STAGELINE ROUTES

Beckworth's Pass
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
Downieville
Verdi
Reno
Henness Pass
North San Juan
Truckee
VIRGINIA CITY
Cisco
Nevada City
Alta
French Corral
Donner Pass
Gold Hill
GRASS VALLEY
Carson City
L. Tahoe
MARYSVILLE
Colfax
Genoa
Friday's Station
Clipper Gap
Auburn
Lincoln
Newcastle
Rocklin
PLACERVILLE
Hope Valley
Roseville
Mud Sprs.
Diamond Sprs.
Strawberry or Sportsman's Hall
Folsom
Shingle Sprs.
Markleeville
Latrobe
SACRAMENTO
Freeport
DONNER LAKE ROUTE
PLACERVILLE ROUTE
WELLS, FARGO & CO.'S FAST FREIGHT AND PASSENGER LINE
PIONEER STAGE COMPANY (PURCHASED BY WELLS FARGO IN 1864)
WELLS, FARGO & CO.'S "GREAT OVERLAND MAIL LINE"

NOTE: All three lines used both routes at various times.

Donner Lake Route." Both routes were subject to minor shifts from time to time because of weather or other considerations. The Pioneer Line began on the Placerville route and added the Donner Lake route in 1865.[13]. Wells Fargo's Fast Freight Line also started on the Placerville route, moved to the Donner Lake route in 1866,[14] but at times was again run over the Placerville route.[15] Following the 1866 consolidation, Wells Fargo ran its Overland Mail Line across the Sierra at first by both routes,[16] but then with increasing emphasis on the Donner Lake route until mid-1868 when the trans-Sierra part of Wells Fargo's staging was rendered superfluous by the pushing eastward of the Central Pacific Railroad from Sacramento as far as Reno.[17]

The above outline of the pattern of Wells Fargo stagecoach operations was obtained for the most part by thorough perusal of the extensive material in extant files of the newspapers published between 1852 and 1870 in California, Nevada, and Utah communities along the trans-Sierra and central Overland Mail routes. In these areas matters pertaining to communication and the transportation of mail, passengers, express and freight were of vital concern and closely followed by the press. Editors tried to keep readers abreast of important developments and at the same time to amuse them with the colorful adventures of well-known stageline personnel.[18] Their newspaper columns reveal the following account of Wells, Fargo & Co. activities.

The needs for, and opportunities in transportation over the Sierra commanded attention following the discovery of precious metals on the eastern slope of the Sierra in 1859. With the rapid development of the Comstock Lode and nearby Nevada mining areas, the geographic advantages possessed by San Francisco, Sacramento, and Placerville with respect to trade with the Washoe mines immediately became apparent. Placerville quickly moved into position as the most thriving mining and business center between Sacramento and Virginia City. Its competitors, Grass Valley and Nevada City, looked to Marysville, rather than Sacramento, as a supply base and communications headquarters.

Transportation over the Sierra from Placerville was provided early in 1857 when Colonel J. B. Crandall instituted a tri-weekly stage to Genoa in Carson Valley by way of Sportsman's Hall, Brockliss Bridge, Silver Creek, Lake Bigler (Tahoe), Hope Valley, and Cary's Mill. In a few months this line became part of the Pioneer Stage Line which had been operating between Sacramento and Placerville. Crandall was appointed operations superintendent of the Pioneer, which now carried passengers and the United States Mail from Sacramento all the way across the mountains. It also carried Theodore Tracy's Carson Valley Express which connected with Wells Fargo's express at Placerville.[19]

The Pioneer Stage Line by 1859 had passed to ownership of Lewis Brady & Co.,[20] and a second line across the Sierra between Placerville and Carson Valley, with a semi-weekly service, had been started by J. A. "Snowshoe" Thompson.[21] Louis McLane, in partnership with his brother, Charles, and while holding his position as General Agent and Chairman of the California Board of Control of Wells Fargo, organized Louis McLane & Co.[22] On September 12, 1860, the Placerville *Mountain Democrat* revealed that Louis McLane & Co. had purchased the Pioneer Line and had placed daily stages on the route establishing a two-day service between San Francisco and the Washoe country.[23] From this date forward Wells, Fargo & Co.'s express deliveries were totally integrated with the stagecoach service of the Pioneer Company.[24]

Historians have long debated whether or not Wells, Fargo & Co. and McLane not only recognized the potential importance of transporting passengers and express to the Washoe mines, but also anticipated the transfer of the transcontinental overland mail from the southern to the central route. Certainly their competitors, the California Stage Company, thought so. A. C. Richardson, a director in Sacramento, wrote Frank S. Stevens, Vice-President in the east: "Do you or can you find out if W. F. & Co. is at the bottom of it? The Carson Valley route is carried out in a most expensive manner & is run daily all winter. You and I would take off half the stock. If Wells F & Co. want to buy out can arrange with them to take all our routes except the Sacto to Portland." In May, Richardson wrote, "Our staging out of Sacramento we hope to close out to McLane." A week later he reported, "I was in San Fran yesterday & gave McLane a chance to talk staging to me. He did not suggest buying out our Sacto staging. It is no use to *try* to sell him but if he *comes to us* we will try mighty hard to sell bet you?" When the news was received that Congress had authorized a daily Overland Mail on the central route and abolished the southern route, Richardson reported, "This makes us think that McLane had his mind on this when he bought . . . [the Pioneer]."[25]

The transfer of the transcontinental overland mail in 1861 from the southern to the central route immediately enhanced the business and importance of the Pioneer Stage Line. The Overland Mail Company had been organized in 1857 by four of the major express companies — American, National, Adams, and Wells, Fargo & Co. — to transport United States Mails between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Coast. From the first, Wells, Fargo & Co. had served as the "banker" for the mail enterprise, advancing funds to M. L. Kinyon who was charged with locating and stocking the route and with the construction of stations from San Francisco to the Rio Grande River at El Paso. Kinyon reported on his activities through Louis McLane. The Overland Mail Company made arrangements for its agents to obtain funds by presenting drafts to Wells, Fargo & Co., and the outstanding indebtedness mounted month by month.[26] By August, 1859, Wells Fargo directors who also sat on the Board of the Overland Mail Company expressed concern over the management and excessive expenditures of the mail company. Acrimony developed among the directors that reached a climax on March 19, 1860, when William G. Fargo moved that the Overland Mail Company assign all its equipment and interest in the mail service to Wells, Fargo & Co. to secure an outstanding debt of $162,400 and funds "that may hereafter be advanced." Instead, however, a compromise was worked out whereby John Butterfield was voted out of the Presidency of the Overland Mail Company and William B. Dinsmore, sponsored by Wells Fargo directors, was elected. Four of the ten directors of the Overland Mail Company at the time of its inception had also been directors in Wells, Fargo & Co. At this time of crisis a vacancy had been declared on the Board and B. P. Cheney, a large stockholder in Wells, Fargo & Co., was elected, thus giving the express and banking firm a dominant voice in policy.[27]

The following year, on March 2, 1861, Congress passed a law providing for a daily overland mail on the central route and a semi-weekly Pony Express with $1,000,000 compensation for the joint undertaking.[28] The first two weeks of March were taken to work out details of the service with the Overland Mail Company, the only serious contender for the contract. Wells, Fargo & Co. directors went to Washington, D. C., from New York to participate in these negotiations and represent the interests of that company.[29] On March 16, 1861, a subcontract was made with William H. Russell of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company whereby the latter was engaged to carry the mails between the Missouri River and Salt Lake City. This line was taken over and expanded by Ben Holladay the following year. As a part of the subcontract arrangement, Wells, Fargo & Co. was granted exclusive right to handle all express business coming from the east to points west of Salt Lake City and all express business originating in the west that was headed east.[30] The Overland Mail Company assumed direct responsibility for mail services by its stages and Pony Express from Salt Lake City to the California border, but negotiated a contract with the Pioneer Stage Company between July and September, 1861, to handle the mail business by stage between Placerville and Carson City, Nevada.[31] Wells, Fargo & Co. directors and shareholders serving on the Board of the Overland Mail Company were exceptionally influential in awarding this contract to their loyal general agent in California whose business interests were identical with their own.

In July, 1861, departure of the first stagecoach over the Central Overland route and arrival of the first daily mail from the east were occasions for enthusiastic celebrations in the streets of Placerville.[32] Wells, Fargo & Co. and the Pioneer Stage Company operated out of the same offices and employed the same men at the agencies in Placerville, Carson City, Gold Hill, and Virginia City. For example, Theodore F. Tracy served both companies in Placerville and was commended repeatedly in the press for popular services to the public.[33] By February, 1862, the Pioneer Stage Company was running two daily stages from Virginia City: one a "Fast Line" carrying businessmen, the U. S. Mails, and Wells, Fargo & Co. express directly into Sacramento in less than thirty hours; and another "Accommodation Line" stopping overnight in Strawberry Valley and Placerville that took two days to reach the California capital.[34] The year 1863 was one of crowning success both for the Pioneer Stage Company and Wells, Fargo & Co. from the standpoint of extensive patronage, financial gain, and public esteem.[35] The Pioneer stages carried 10,500 through passengers from San Francisco, via Placerville, across the Sierra to western Nevada in the last six months of 1863. These stages also carried bullion, mail, and express matter amounting to about two thousand pounds each way daily.[36]

By April, 1864, the Pioneer Stage Company was challenged by many competitors: Langton's Pioneer Express and Stage Line running from Virginia City, Nevada, to Nevada City and Marysville, California, by way of the Henness Pass route; the California Stage Company on a route north of Lake Tahoe by way of Lake City, Nevada City, Grass Valley, Lincoln, and Sacramento, also making connections for Marysville; and the Pacific Stage and Express Co. operating from Virginia City via Truckee Meadows, Crystal Peak, Nevada City, Grass Valley, Auburn, and Newcastle into Sacramento. The Pioneer stages began making the fastest time ever, covering the distance between Virginia City and Folsom, where the railroad cars could be boarded for Sacramento, in twenty-two hours.[37] By June the time of stage travel was further shortened when the Placerville and Sacramento Railroad reached Latrobe and the stage schedule was coordinated with those of the railroad and the steamers operating between Sacramento and San Francisco. The Virginia City *Daily Union* reported, "There are running between Placerville and Latrobe 6 coaches, between Carson and Virginia 2 coaches daily each way. . . . There are 600 horses in daily use, and 53 drivers and hostlers employed."[38] The volume of stage business was so great the Pioneer Stage Company announced that by December, 1864, it would run four coaches daily in each direction.[39] The California Steam Navigation Company's steamboats were stopping at Freeport where passengers took the railroad cars to Latrobe, connecting there with the stagecoach. The Pioneer Stage Company now advertised a twenty-four-hour trip from San Francisco to Virginia City, crossing the mountains by daylight and at a reduced fare of $15 for the stage ride.[40] The Pioneer Company had to look to its laurels, however, because the California Stage Company, running on the Donner Lake route from the railhead of the Central Pacific at Newcastle, via Dutch Flat, succeeded on occasions in delivering the San Francisco newspapers in Virginia City within twenty hours.[41] In spite of competition, business was so heavy that the Pioneer Stage Company had to establish a second office in Placerville at the Merchants Exchange on C Street opposite the International Hotel, in charge of Alex. Hunter, to accommodate its many patrons.[42] Throughout summer and autumn the stages ran like clockwork, connecting with the cars of the Freeport and Placerville & Sacramento Valley Railroad; by November they encountered the annual difficulty in maintaining their schedule during winter storms.[43]

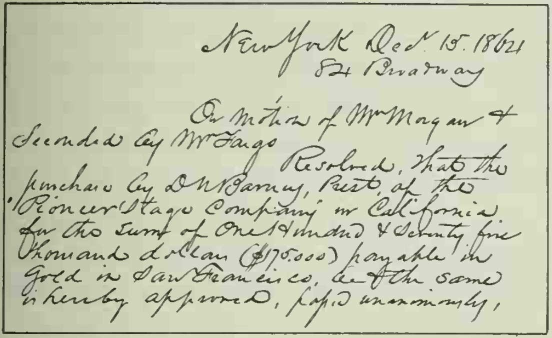
It was at this time of burgeoning traffic and activity that Wells, Fargo & Co. bought the Pioneer Stage Line from Louis McLane & Co. Unknown to the public and to California and Nevada newspaper editors, Wells Fargo & Co. between July and December, 1864, had been conducting negotiations for the purchase of the Pioneer Stage Company. Louis McLane had submitted a proposition to sell his interest in the stage company and several months of correspondence and debate preceded the final action of the Board on December 15, 1864. "On the motion of Mr. Morgan & seconded by Mr. Fargo," according to Wells Fargo's Minute Book, a resolution "that the purchase by DN Barney, Prest., of the 'Pioneer Stage Company' in California for the sum of One Hundred & Seventy five thousand dollars ($175,000), payable in gold in San Francisco, be & the same is hereby approved, passed unanimously."[44] Information concerning this purchase was not made public, apparently because Wells, Fargo & Co. was dependent upon such stage lines as the California Stage Co. and Langton's Pioneer Express and Stage Co., competitors with the Pioneer Stage Company on the trans-Sierra route, to deliver express elsewhere in California. A sound business decision was made to operate the Pioneer Stage Company as a subsidiary, for a time, rather than reveal the company's direct ownership and operation of stages.

Also in 1864, Wells, Fargo & Co. established in June a new service in its own name over the Placerville route to carry "express freight" between Virginia City and San Francisco by a fast stage line for fifteen cents a pound.[45] This new stagecoach operation was extensively advertised throughout western Nevada.[46] By the following year it was also carrying passengers on its freight stages at rates substantially below those of the Pioneer and other lines.[47]

As competition between the railroad-stage lines to the north and south of Lake Tahoe intensified during 1865, various newspapers, as spokesmen for their communities, noted events and promoted the cause of their favorite route or company. Sacramento newspapers had a tendency to favor the Central Pacific-California Stage Company's operation by way of Newcastle and along the Dutch Flat-Donner Lake road. On the other hand, Placerville, Carson City, and Gold Hill editors were active partisans in behalf of the Pioneer Stage Company's route.[48] Newspapers in Virginia City were more objective and reliable in appraising developments.[49] In April, 1865, the Placerville and Sacramento Valley Railroad had reached Spring Garden, five miles from Latrobe, and in another month it was to be completed to Shingle Springs, about ten miles from Placerville, where the stages would be running throughout the summer.[50] In May, the Pioneer Stage Company had rerouted its line between Carson City and Placerville to run along the banks of Lake Tahoe rather than on the Genoa road to the south of the lake. The *Carson Daily Appeal* suggested, "The change is a commendable one. . . . Those who are fortunate enough to pass this road in daylight are afforded a fair opportunity of seeing the magnificent scenery of Lake Tahoe, as the stages run along the bank for several miles."[51] On August 26, 1865, railroad cars were withdrawn from the Freeport Railroad. The Pioneer stages ran to the railhead at Shingle Springs and passengers took the train directly into Sacramento by way of Folsom. The alternative route by Freeport was abandoned.[52] Railroad construction continued on the line into Placerville, now less than ten miles away, and the contractor expected to have the rails completed to Mud Springs by October 1.[53] Meanwhile, on the Donner Lake route the Central Pacific was also making progress in construction. On May 10, 1865, the railhead was moved from Newcastle to Clipper Gap. On August 23, 1865, the Auburn *Stars and Stripes* revealed, "Monday afternoon the last trestle of the Pacific Railroad between Clipper Gap and Colfax was finished and received the track. Within fifteen days, we are confidently assured, the road will have been completed to Colfax."[54] (Colfax was fifty-four miles from Sacramento, with fifty-one miles yet to go to the summit and one hundred miles to Reno.) Each of the stage lines attempted to provide the most convenient and inexpensive service while maintaining the fastest possible time. Additional stagecoaches were put on to accommodate businessmen in a hurry as well as travelers who wished a leisurely ride. Schedules were repeatedly adjusted to meet the arrival times of trains and steamers. As competition increased,

# The Pioneer Stage Line

## WELLS FARGO'S PURCHASE OF THE PIONEER LINE



New York Decr 15. 1864
84 Broadway

On motion of Mr Morgan & Seconded by Mr Fargo

Resolved, that the purchase by D N Barney, Prest, of the 'Pioneer Stage Company' in California for the sum of One Hundred & Seventy five Thousand dollars ($175.000) payable in Gold in San Francisco, & the same is hereby approved, passed unanimously,

Minutes of Board of Directors of
Wells, Fargo & Co., December 15, 1864.

## ACQUISITION OF THE DONNER LAKE ROUTE

OUR STAGE LINES.—On and after the first of the coming month, Lonis McLane & Co., having purchased the California stage line, running over the Dutch Flat and Donner Lake route, the stages of that line will leave the present office of the Pioneer line, at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s, at the usual time, that hereafter being the office of each line, both lines belonging to the same company. Passengers can of course take their choice of either the Placerville or Dutch Flat routes, as heretofore. No changes will be made, but the coaches and everything will run as at present, and the bullion, treasure, etc., will be carried as at present. The stages of the Placerville route will still connect with the cars at Shingle Springs, as heretofore, which run now to Sacramento, instead of to Freeport. There will be no change in the office of the company at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s, the present employés being retained, and attending to the business of both routes. This will be a good arrangement for the travelling public, and one that will be appreciated. Both routes are in the finest possible order, with the best of drivers, horses and coaches.

The Daily Union, (Virginia City),
August 31, 1865, pg. 3, col. 1.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

## CHOICE OF ROUTES

**PIONEER STAGE CO.'S**

**GREAT EXPRESS**

AND

**UNITED STATES MAIL LINE**

BETWEEN

**San Francisco and Virginia.**

**Through in 24 Hours.**

VIA

DUTCH FLAT & DONNER LAKE ROUTE
AND CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD

***TO SACRAMENTO,***

AND VIA

PLACERVILLE & LAKE BIGLER ROUTE
AND PLACERVILLE SACRAMENTO
VALLEY RAILROAD

***TO SACRAMENTO,***

PASSENGERS LEAVING SAN FRANCISCO BY Boat at 4 P. M. will take the Cars at Sacramento, on both roads, at 6.30 A. M. for the Lake Bigler Route, will change to Stages at Shingle Springs. For Donner Lake Route, at Colfax Station. Arriving in Virginia, by both Lines, in 36 hours from San Francisco—

CROSSING THE MOUNTAINS BY DAYLIGHT.

RETURNING

Leave Virginia, via Placerville and Lake Bigler Route, at 1 P. M. and 4 P. M., connecting at Sacramento with San Francisco Boat at 2 P. M. next day. The 1 P. M. Stage will connect with the first morning Train at Shingle Springs, giving passengers 6 hours in Sacramento. By the Dutch Flat and Donner Lake Route, will leave Virginia at 4:15 P. M., connecting at Sacramento with San Francisco Boat at 2 P. M. next day.

The Daily Union, (Virginia City),
September 1, 1865, pg. 2, col. 4.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

the partisan press suggested, "The Pioneer is the only decent route to California," or "The Pioneer is just snatching things baldheaded, and runs ahead of any consumption ranch on the coast," or "Everything rides on the Pioneer now-a-days," or "Bully for the Pioneer."[55]

Notwithstanding the Pioneer Line's success on the Placerville route, the significance of the Central Pacific's progress up into the Sierra foothills and the prospect that in perhaps three years the railroad would be pushed over the mountains and down into Nevada was not lost upon Wells Fargo and its general manager, McLane. At the close of August, 1865, California and Nevada newspapers revealed this important development: The Pioneer Stage Co., owned by Wells, Fargo & Co., had purchased the Donner Lake route of the California Stage Company.[56] The purchase was formally announced by the *Daily Union* of Virginia City:

> Our Stage Lines. On and after the first of the coming month, Louis McLane & Co. having purchased the California Stage line, running over the Dutch Flat and Donner Lake route, the stages of that line will leave the present office of the Pioneer Line, at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s, at the usual time, that hereafter being the office of each line, both lines belonging to the same company. Passengers can of course take their choice of either the Placerville or Dutch Flat routes, as heretofore. No changes will be made, but the coaches and everything will run as at present, and bullion, treasure, etc. will be carried as at present. The stages of the Placerville route will still connect with the cars at Shingle Springs, as heretofore, which run now to Sacramento, instead of Freeport. There will be no change in the office of the company at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s, the present employees being retained, and attending to the business of both routes. This will be a good arrangement for the traveling public, and one that will be appreciated. Both routes are in the finest possible order, with the best of drivers, horses and coaches.[57]

John J. Valentine, agent in Virginia City for both Wells, Fargo & Co. and the Pioneer Stage Company, placed advertisements in western Nevada newspapers announcing that "Pioneer Stages" would be run along both the north and south shores of Lake Tahoe by the Dutch Flat and Placerville roads.[58] "One thing is certain, we believe now, as honestly as yore, that the old Pioneer route via Placerville is by far the best, easiest and most pleasant for travelers, and would advise anyone to go that way who wishes a comfortable journey," admonished the editor of the *Gold Hill News*.[59] Virginia City newspapers noted a curtailment of service on the Placerville route for about three weeks while stock and equipment were shifted to the other route. Under the "New Stage Arrangement" the main stage route of the Pioneer Line was expected to be by Dutch Flat to Colfax, the new terminus of the Central Pacific Railroad.[60] The California towns most affected by the Pioneer Company's purchase of the California Stage Company and the resulting curtailment of competition on the trans-Sierra stage service, were those on the Nevada City-Grass Valley-Marysville route, and local newspapers reported the change either reluctantly or without comment.[61]

Soon the possibility of another purchase by the Pioneer Stage Company was being discussed by the press. The *Nevada Daily Gazette* of Nevada City, California, reported that negotiations were under way for the sale of the stage route operated by the California Stage Company between that city and Colfax to the Pioneer Stage Company.[62] Many changes in the express and stagecoach business were taking place in these months as the California Stage Company withdrew from stage operations. The *Gazette* observed, "Wells, Fargo & Co. are gradually extending their express business over all the lines of communication on this coast, and will probably at an early day have possession of all the scattering routes now held by the smaller companies."[63]

In 1865-1866, the express and stage business between California and western Nevada continued to boom. Space in the office building in Virginia City occupied by Wells, Fargo & Co. and the Pioneer Stage Company was reassigned to make room for the United States Pacific Telegraph Office thereby facilitating the services of all three companies.[64] In Gold Hill a new building had been erected by the Pioneer Stage Company including blacksmith, wagon repair, and paint shops where stagecoaches could be refurbished. At this commodious establishment numerous mechanics were employed and the local press referred to the company payroll as "enormous", amounting to more than company receipts in Storey county.[65] Wells, Fargo & Co. and the Pioneer Stage Company continued to occupy the same office building in Carson City and their transportation services for passengers, mails, express, and freight were totally integrated.[66] During the winter of 1865-1866 the Pioneer stagecoaches ran on alternate routes as weather conditions dictated. When the Dutch Flat route was closed by winter snows, the Pioneer Stage Company announced that its stock and equipment on the Lake Tahoe route, where the Placerville stages had been running for seven months, would be transferred back to the year-round road a little farther south through Genoa and that until further notice all stages to and from California would run on that route.[67] By January, 1866, passengers were being carried across the Sierra summit on both routes by sleighs. Leaving Virginia City in sleighs drawn by six horses, travelers were transported eighty miles on the Donner Lake route before transferring to wagons. Sixty miles of the Placerville route was covered by sleighs.[68] When regular stagecoach service was resumed in the spring, Carson City residents began to complain about the slow delivery of mail over the Placerville route, and a distrustful local editor speculated that an overnight stopover was made at Strawberry so the service over this route would not be so much faster than that of the railroad-stage route by way of Dutch Flat.[69]

In April, 1866, John J. Valentine, Wells Fargo-Pioneer agent in Virginia City, was named superintendent of all the California-Nevada routes and William G. (Billy) Crandall was promoted from the Carson City office of the Pioneer Stage Company to Virginia City to replace Valentine. The Wells, Fargo & Co. agent in Carson City assumed Crandall's responsibilities there.[70] A few months later, Theodore F. Tracy, General Agent of the Pioneer Stage Company and an old resident of Placerville, was appointed General Agent for the Banking and Express Department of Wells, Fargo & Co. in Salt Lake City.[71] By this time the frequent and free interchange of employees between the two companies and the practice of sharing office space led gradually to public suspicion that Wells, Fargo & Co. owned and controlled the Pioneer Stage Company.

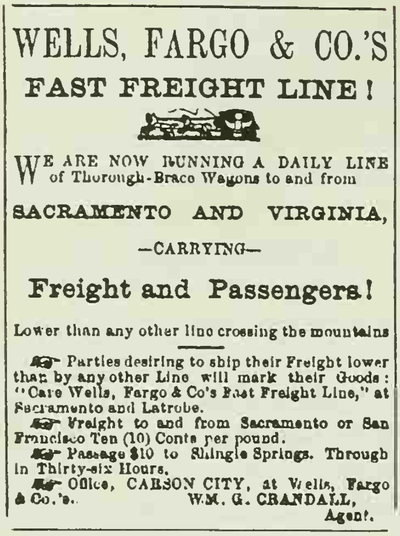
From 1866 on, the pattern of trans-Sierra staging depended in large measure on the progress of railroad construction and upon the ability of the Central Pacific to keep the completed part of the railroad open and running under the varying weather conditions. It took the Central Pacific a little over ten months from September 1, 1865, to July 10, 1866, to complete the fifteen-mile section from Colfax to Alta, bringing it within thirty-six miles of the summit.[72] In anticipation of additional construction, Wells, Fargo & Co. had already established an express office in the new and flourishing town of Cisco.[73] By

December, 1866, the railroad had completed the additional twenty-three miles to that station.[74] The Pioneer Stage Company then began placing greater emphasis on its Donner Lake route, and when service on its Placerville line was reduced to one stage daily, rather than two, residents of that community made no attempt to conceal their disappointment.[75] The comparative advantages of the two routes north and south of Lake Tahoe continued to be debated in the press,[76] with Gold Hill, Carson City, and particularly Austin, Nevada, holding to the hope that the Sacramento Valley Railroad would muster the financial backing to put its line over the Sierra from Placerville along a route south of Lake Tahoe. This hope was doomed to frustration. The Central Pacific moved its construction rapidly forward by employing a work force estimated at ten thousand and announced its plans to reach the summit of the Sierra before the end of 1867.[77] Meanwhile a three-way quarrel developed over the Placerville and Sacramento Valley Railroad between Louis McLane, representing Wells, Fargo & Co. that had advanced money to facilitate the construction; L. L. Robinson, representing the first mortgage holders; and the county of El Dorado and the city of Placerville that had subscribed $300,000 in railroad bonds. Hope finally being abandoned for building beyond Placerville across the Sierra, McLane worked to arrange a compromise among investors in the project so the line could be finished at least into Placerville.[78] Between March and August, 1866, financial pressures from the Central Pacific had discouraged the completion of a rival line. Under the circumstances, Louis McLane recognized that the future route across the Sierra, temporarily for stages and later for the railroad, definitely would be by Dutch Flat and Donner Lake.

Wells, Fargo & Co. continued the operation of its "Fast Freight and Passenger" line over the Placerville route. "The class of persons who prefer going on these lines, are people who wish to save their money, time not being so much consequence to them as cash," commented the editor of the *Gold Hill News*. "All things considered, these Fast Freight wagons are really quite comfortable — having boxes to sit upon, and large comfortable robes to cover up with. The teams are equal to the best stage horses in use; and the drivers are careful and accommodating."[79] Beginning in July, 1865, Wells, Fargo & Co. launched an advertising campaign offering to carry

# Wells, Fargo & Co.'s "Fast Freight and Passenger Line"

## PLACERVILLE ROUTE



WELLS, FARGO & CO.'S

**FAST FREIGHT LINE!**

WE ARE NOW RUNNING A DAILY LINE of Thorough-Brace Wagons to and from

**SACRAMENTO AND VIRGINIA,**

—CARRYING—

**Freight and Passengers!**

Lower than any other line crossing the mountains

☞ Parties desiring to ship their Freight lower than by any other Line will mark their Goods: "Care Wells, Fargo & Co's Fast Freight Line," at Sacramento and Latrobe.

☞ Freight to and from Sacramento or San Francisco Ten (10) Cents per pound.

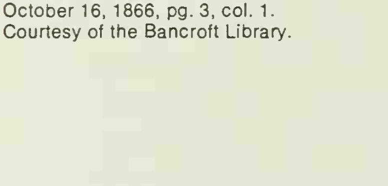
☞ Passage $10 to Shingle Springs. Through in Thirty-six Hours.

☞ Office, CARSON CITY, at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s.

WM. G. CRANDALL,
Agent.

The Carson Daily Appeal,
July 4, 1865, pg. 2, col. 4.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

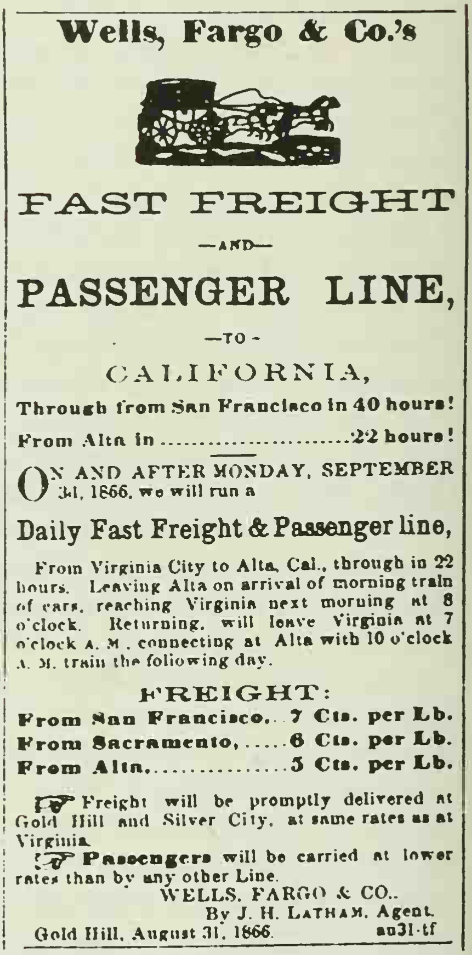
## TRAGEDY



FROZEN TO DEATH.—On last Sunday night, when Wells, Fargo & Co.'s fast freight stage arrived at Crystal Lake, a man who had been riding on the back part of the stage, got off and walked into the house, and as he approached the fire he fell on the floor and expired. A doctor who examined the body said that the deceased had "frozen to death." No one knew who the man was, or where he got on the stage; he had no baggage, and was only protected from the cold by a linen coat.

The Daily Union, (Virginia City),
October 16, 1866, pg. 3, col. 1.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

## DONNER LAKE ROUTE



**Wells, Fargo & Co.'s**

FAST FREIGHT

—AND—

**PASSENGER LINE,**

—TO—

CALIFORNIA,

**Through from San Francisco in 40 hours!**

**From Alta in .........................22 hours!**

ON AND AFTER MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 31, 1866, we will run a

**Daily Fast Freight & Passenger line,**

From Virginia City to Alta, Cal., through in 22 hours. Leaving Alta on arrival of morning train of cars, reaching Virginia next morning at 8 o'clock. Returning, will leave Virginia at 7 o'clock A. M., connecting at Alta with 10 o'clock A. M. train the following day.

FREIGHT:

**From San Francisco,...7 Cts. per Lb.**
**From Sacramento,.....6 Cts. per Lb.**
**From Alta,...............5 Cts. per Lb.**

☞ Freight will be promptly delivered at Gold Hill and Silver City, at same rates as at Virginia.

☞ **Passengers** will be carried at lower rates than by any other Line.

WELLS, FARGO & CO.,
By J. H. LATHAM, Agent.
Gold Hill, August 31, 1866. au31-tf

Gold Hill Daily News,
August 31, 1866, pg. 2, col. 5.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

passengers from western Nevada to the railhead at Shingle Springs in thorough-brace wagons for a minimum fee of $10, in contrast to the $25 charged by the Pioneer Stage Company's fast stagecoaches.[80] Invariably the newspaper advertisements of Wells Fargo's "Fast Freight and Passenger Service" included cuts of stagecoaches identical with those printed in the advertisements of the California Stage Co. or Pioneer Stage Company, suggesting that any difference in accommodations was considered minimal.[81] Virginia City's *Daily Union* noted that Wells, Fargo & Co. was carrying both freight and passengers at lower rates than any other line crossing the mountains. "This line is of inestimable importance to the business as well as the traveling public," observed the editor.[82] Passengers were accommodated by this service into the winter months.[83]

At the beginning of September, 1866, Wells, Fargo & Co. introduced a "Fast Freight and Passenger Line" on the Dutch Flat road running from Virginia City to Alta, at the time the terminus of the Central Pacific, in twenty-two hours, making connection with the railroad cars for Sacramento that arrived in time for passengers to take the boat to San Francisco.[84] The company advertised that passengers would be carried to Alta for $5 or booked through to Sacramento for $12 prompting an editorial comment, "We call that pretty tolerable cheap traveling."[85] This service, like the similar service on the Placerville route, continued right into the winter months with thorough-brace wagons and stagecoaches being used interchangeably as the situation demanded or at the convenience of the company.[86]

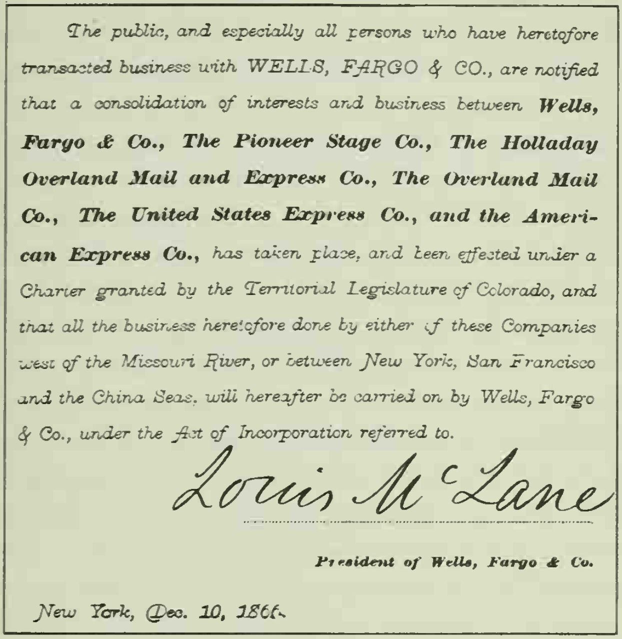
In the transportation field, staging over the Sierra was not all that was on Wells Fargo's mind in 1866. Big news was brewing in connection with the trans-continental overland mail. Throughout the year the editorial column of the *Reese River Reveille,* Austin, Nevada, publicized the growing antagonism on the part of the mail contractors on the "western side," the Overland Mail Company and the Pioneer Stage Company, toward Ben Holladay and his Holladay Overland Mail and Express Co. which had the United States Mail contract for that part of the overland line east of Salt Lake City. Wells, Fargo & Co. and the Overland Mail Company were thoroughly dissatisfied with the way Holladay was conducting his part of the line,[87] and Louis McLane was known to be eager to have Wells Fargo take over the entire route. As early as August, 1866, the Austin, Nevada, newspaper was quoting reliable sources "that the contractors on this end of the Overland Mail route, have purchased Ben Holladay's interest and are about consolidating the whole route under one company."[88] The *Alta California* of San Francisco was the first to break the news in November, 1866, under the heading: "A Great Enterprise." "We understand that Wells, Fargo & Co., the Pioneer Stage Company, the Overland Mail Company, and Holladay's Overland Mail Company, have consolidated under the name Wells, Fargo & Co., with a capital of $10,000,000. Louis McLane has been selected President."[89] By January, 1867, western Nevada newspapers revealed the nature of the "Grand Consolidation" of the major express, mail, and stage lines west of the Missouri River into Wells, Fargo & Co. The *Daily Union* of Virginia City made a cryptic announcement: "Wells, Fargo & Co. together with the Pioneer and Overland Stage Companies have consolidated into a grand Express and Stage Company, controlled by Wells, Fargo & Co., the new arrangement taking effect from the first day of the present year."[90] The official announcement to the public was published in March, 1867:

> The public, and especially all persons who have heretofore transacted business with WELLS, FARGO & CO., are notified that a consolidation of interests and business between WELLS, FARGO & CO., THE PIONEER STAGE LINE, THE HOLLADAY OVERLAND MAIL AND EXPRESS CO., THE OVERLAND MAIL COMPANY, THE UNITED STATES EXPRESS CO., AND THE AMERICAN EXPRESS CO., has taken place, and been effected under a Charter granted by the Territorial Legislature of Colorado, and that all the business heretofore done by either of these Companies west of the Missouri River, or between New York, San Francisco and China Seas, will hereafter be carried on by Wells, Fargo & Co. under the Act of Incorporation referred to.
>
> LOUIS MCLANE,
> President of Wells, Fargo & Co.
>
> New York, December 10, 1866.[91]

Company records of this consolidation recorded the fact that the Pioneer Stage Company was owned by Wells, Fargo & Co., and through news reports two years after the actual purchase the public had its growing suspicion officially confirmed.[92] The *Mountain Democrat* of Placerville had already dropped the name of Louis McLane & Co., as proprietors of the Pioneer Stage Line, in its

# The Grand Consolidation of Stagelines

## NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC



*The public, and especially all persons who have heretofore transacted business with WELLS, FARGO & CO., are notified that a consolidation of interests and business between* ***Wells, Fargo & Co., The Pioneer Stage Co., The Holladay Overland Mail and Express Co., The Overland Mail Co., The United States Express Co., and the American Express Co.,*** *has taken place, and been effected under a Charter granted by the Territorial Legislature of Colorado, and that all the business heretofore done by either of these Companies west of the Missouri River, or between New York, San Francisco and the China Seas, will hereafter be carried on by Wells, Fargo & Co., under the Act of Incorporation referred to.*

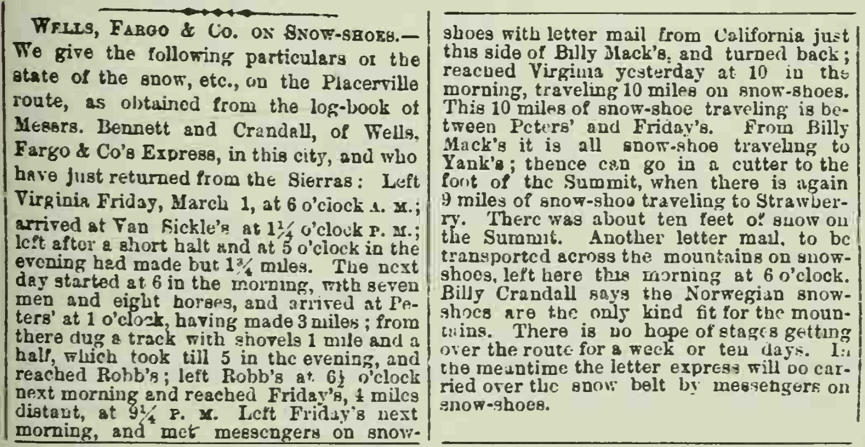
Louis McLane

**President of Wells, Fargo & Co.**

*New York, Dec. 10, 1866.*

History Room of Wells Fargo Bank.

## GETTING THE MAIL THROUGH



WELLS, FARGO & CO. ON SNOW-SHOES.—We give the following particulars of the state of the snow, etc., on the Placerville route, as obtained from the log-book of Messrs. Bennett and Crandall, of Wells, Fargo & Co's Express, in this city, and who have just returned from the Sierras: Left Virginia Friday, March 1, at 6 o'clock A. M.; arrived at Van Sickle's at 1¼ o'clock P. M.; left after a short halt and at 5 o'clock in the evening had made but 1¾ miles. The next day started at 6 in the morning, with seven men and eight horses, and arrived at Peters' at 1 o'clock, having made 3 miles; from there dug a track with shovels 1 mile and a half, which took till 5 in the evening, and reached Robb's; left Robb's at 6½ o'clock next morning and reached Friday's, 4 miles distant, at 9¼ P. M. Left Friday's next morning, and met messengers on snow-shoes with letter mail from California just this side of Billy Mack's, and turned back; reached Virginia yesterday at 10 in the morning, traveling 10 miles on snow-shoes. This 10 miles of snow-shoe traveling is between Peters' and Friday's. From Billy Mack's it is all snow-shoe traveling to Yank's; thence can go in a cutter to the foot of the Summit, when there is again 9 miles of snow-shoe traveling to Strawberry. There was about ten feet of snow on the Summit. Another letter mail, to be transported across the mountains on snow-shoes, left here this morning at 6 o'clock. Billy Crandall says the Norwegian snow-shoes are the only kind fit for the mountains. There is no hope of stages getting over the route for a week or ten days. In the meantime the letter express will be carried over the snow belt by messengers on snow-shoes.

Daily Territorial Enterprise, (Virginia City),
March 5, 1867, pg. 3, col. 2. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

advertising columns.[93] To handle its huge stageline interests Wells, Fargo & Co. organized a Stage Department, parallel to its Express and Banking Departments, and thoroughly publicized the fact by changing the format of its advertisements.[94]

Wells, Fargo & Co. assumed responsibility of operating stagecoaches across the Sierra under its own name at the most difficult season of the year and that winter of 1866-1867 turned out to be one long to be remembered. On January 18, 1867, railroad cars were able to move no farther through the snow than Alta where passengers, express, and mail had to be placed in sleighs and carried to Cisco and on to Crystal Peak before stages could be used.[95] A tremendous storm the following week disrupted railroad service further. The stagecoaches from the railroad managed to get through to Virginia City, but the stage driver on the Placerville route arrived on horseback bringing the mail with him. The coach was stuck in the mud below Gold Hill so deep that twenty additional horses could not budge it.[96] By the first week in February, winter staging for a time ran smoothly. The most difficult section of the road for the Donner Lake stages was the Geiger Grade into Virginia City but that was being improved.[97] The most severe storm of winter hit the Sierra the third week in February, bringing staging again to a standstill. The *Daily Trespass* of Virginia City reported on February 25 that stages on the Placerville route at last had been heard from — two were at Yank's Station, two at Strawberry Valley and one stranded on the road between Strawberry and Placerville. Billy Crandall, who had just been promoted to general paymaster for the Pioneer and Overland Stage routes,[98] reported that the railroad was open to Emigrant Gap but beyond that "all is unknown" and many days would undoubtedly pass before stages could restore connection with the Sacramento trains.[99] With railroad service demoralized, John J. Valentine, determined to keep the Placerville route open for communications, left for an inspection trip. The first day he reached Friday's Station, on Lake Tahoe, a distance of four miles and reported, "The snow is so deep that as fast as the roads are broken the drifting snow fills up the track and undoes the work accomplished."[100] The next day, with the assistance of snowshoes, Valentine and his party reached Sugar Loaf Station, fifteen miles west of Strawberry Valley. The editor of the *Daily Trespass* issued a warning, "Don't look for stages by either the Dutch Flat or the Placerville routes in less than six days — if it keeps on storming, postpone their arrival indefinitely."[101]

On March 1, 1867, Wells, Fargo & Co. received intelligence from its agent at Cisco that all the back express and mails had at last arrived there by train and every effort would be made to break the road across the mountains. Meanwhile messengers were bringing the letter express through on snowshoes from Donner Lake to Crystal Peak where horses were available. One horse floundered about in the huge snowdrifts on the Geiger Grade until the driver dismounted to break the track, only to find that the horse had plunged to his death down the hillside, taking the express with him on his back.[102] At this same time on the Placerville route three employees of Wells, Fargo & Co., including Billy Crandall, left Virginia City for Friday's Station, determined to get the letter express through to California, using snowshoes.[103] Telegraphic dispatches from Genoa revealed the expressmen had made it to within a mile of Peter's Station the first day and would need another full day to get to Friday's. The snow was so light in texture they could not travel on snowshoes and they had encountered several snow slides near the summit. The message closed, "Have faith, we will make it."[104] After reaching Friday's Station, the men traveled on until they met messengers on snowshoes with the letter mail from California just east of Billy Mack's, exchanged letter packets, and turned back to retrace their route. Crandall reported that there was no hope of stages getting over the route for a week or ten days, but in the meantime letters would be carried by messengers on Norwegian snowshoes.[105] The Dutch Flat-Donner Lake route was opened for stages on March 6, but the first coaches coming through got mired in mud and snow on Geiger Grade and both passengers and express came the last few miles on horseback.[106] Soon trains were again running on schedule to Cisco and stages were operating into Virginia City.[107] Meanwhile, it was reported, "The Placerville route to California is not yet passable, except for a good snowshoeist."[108] A few days later, Hank Abbott brought a stage through on this route with fifty-seven sacks of mail weighing over a ton. At least four tons of mail were piled up in the Carson City Post Office awaiting delivery to California, so a brisk business was begun as soon as stages could move on schedule.

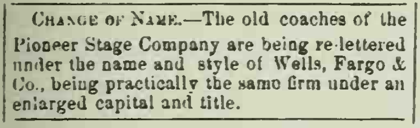
Travelers continued to report that the depth of the snow in the Sierra was greater in 1866-1867 than it had been in many years, reaching a height of twenty-two feet between Donner Lake and Cisco.[109]

In January-February, 1867, at the height of the winter storms, Wells, Fargo & Co. again announced a "Cheap Freight and Passenger Fare" on its Fast Freight Line and launched an extensive program of advertising.[110] *The Territorial Enterprise* of February 13 summarized developments: "Two weeks since, when the roads were worse than for some years, Wells, Fargo & Co. reduced their express freights from fifteen to ten cents a pound from San Francisco to this city, and passenger fares from here to Sacramento to twenty dollars, which rates continue. They have now reduced prices by fast freight to eight cents per pound from San Francisco and seven cents from Sacramento. Passengers will be carried by fast freight to California or Austin at very low rates, as may be ascertained by calling at Wells, Fargo & Co.'s in this city."[111] While the passenger stages on both the Placerville and Donner Lake routes were blocked by winter snow, Wells, Fargo & Co.'s fast freight and passenger line managed to get through.[112]

On March 15, 1867, the *Daily Trespass* of Virginia City made a surprise announcement, "Change of Name — The old coaches of the Pioneer Stage Company are being re-lettered under the name and style of Wells, Fargo & Co., being practically the same firm under an enlarged capital and title."[113] At last, two and one-half months after Wells, Fargo & Co.'s ownership of the Pioneer Stage Company had become public information, that company had decided to place its own name on the side of the stagecoaches it had owned since December, 1864. The re-decorated stages, bearing the Wells, Fargo & Co. name, were primarily used on the Donner Lake Road between Virginia City and the various railroad termini from Cisco eastward, but some of them also ran on the Placerville road. In fact, Wells Fargo as usual operated its stages on either route or on both routes simultaneously, according to weather and road conditions. When a new fall of snow in the Sierra closed the Donner Lake road for several days in April, pressure on travel was so great that stages on the Placerville route omitted their usual overnight stop and traveled straight through between Sacramento and Carson City.[114]

# Wells, Fargo & Co.'s "Great Overland Stage Line"

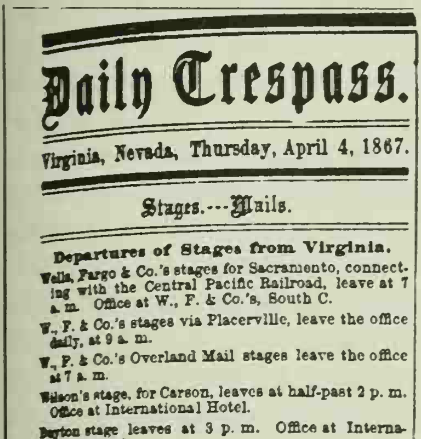
### NAME CHANGED ON PIONEER STAGECOACHES



CHANGE OF NAME.—The old coaches of the Pioneer Stage Company are being re-lettered under the name and style of Wells, Fargo & Co., being practically the same firm under an enlarged capital and title.

The Daily Trespass, (Virginia City), March 15, 1867, pg. 3, col. 2.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

### STAGE SCHEDULE OUT OF VIRGINIA CITY—1867



**Daily Trespass.**

Virginia, Nevada, Thursday, April 4, 1867.

**Stages.---Mails.**

**Departures of Stages from Virginia.**

Wells, Fargo & Co.'s stages for Sacramento, connecting with the Central Pacific Railroad, leave at 7 a. m. Office at W., F. & Co.'s, South C.

W., F. & Co.'s stages via Placerville, leave the office daily, at 9 a. m.

W., F. & Co.'s Overland Mail stages leave the office at 7 a. m.

Wilson's stage, for Carson, leaves at half-past 2 p. m. Office at International Hotel.

Dayton stage leaves at 3 p. m. Office at International Hotel.

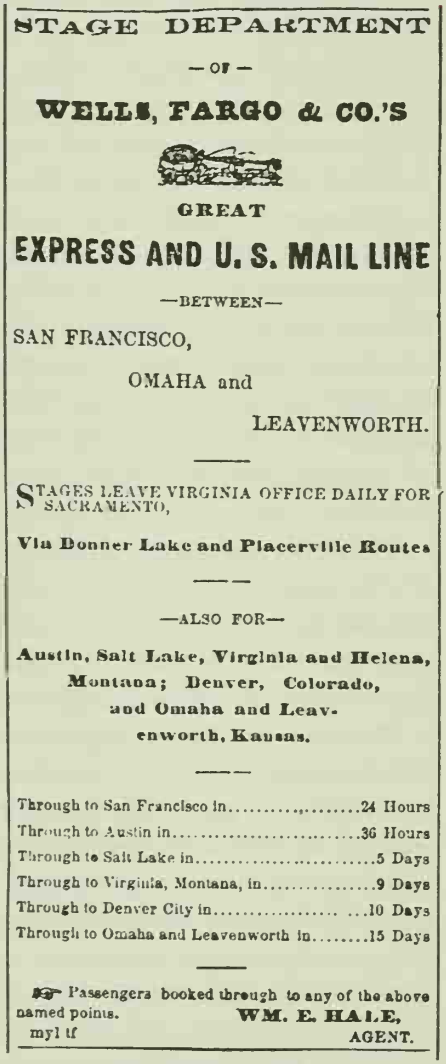
Washoe and Ophir stage leaves at 11 a. m. Office at International Hotel.

W., F. & Co.'s Fast Freight Line, via Dutch Flat, leaves at 7 a. m.

Miller & Ripley's Fast Freight Line, for Austin and Belmont, leaves every Saturday, at 10 a. m. Office at Light & Haviland's Stable, South C.

The Daily Trespass, (Virginia City), April 4, 1867, pg. 3, col. 1.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

### DONNER LAKE AND PLACERVILLE ROUTES—1868



**STAGE DEPARTMENT**

— OF —

**WELLS, FARGO & CO.'S**

**GREAT**

**EXPRESS AND U. S. MAIL LINE**

—BETWEEN—

SAN FRANCISCO,
OMAHA and
LEAVENWORTH.

STAGES LEAVE VIRGINIA OFFICE DAILY FOR SACRAMENTO,

**Via Donner Lake and Placerville Routes**

—ALSO FOR—

**Austin, Salt Lake, Virginia and Helena, Montana; Denver, Colorado, and Omaha and Leavenworth, Kansas.**

Through to San Francisco in..................24 Hours
Through to Austin in..................36 Hours
Through to Salt Lake in..................5 Days
Through to Virginia, Montana, in..................9 Days
Through to Denver City in..................10 Days
Through to Omaha and Leavenworth in..................15 Days

☞ Passengers booked through to any of the above named points.

**WM. E. HALE,**
AGENT.

my1 tf

Daily Territorial Enterprise, (Virginia City), May 1, 1868, pg. 2, col. 6.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

By mid-month both stage lines were operating, but the Donner Lake road was still reported rough and the Geiger Grade almost impassable when it rained.[115] Throughout May travel on the Placerville route appeared more satisfactory than by Dutch Flat.[116]

In June, 1867, Wells, Fargo & Co. began transferring its "fast freight" stock and equipment from the Placerville route, where it had been used during the winter, to the Dutch Flat route.[117] Service to the railhead was run daily throughout the summer months. Apparently the volume and profits in the business were sufficiently large to invite competition on the road to Cisco and between Virginia City and Shingle Springs from two other companies.[118] Wells, Fargo & Co. attempted to meet all competition by further reducing its rates and advertised, "Fare by Fast Freight, To Cisco . . . $4."[119]

Passenger demands were so great during the summer of 1867 that Wells, Fargo & Co. had to place additional stagecoaches on the route between Virginia City and Cisco.[120] By August it was reported, "The stages by the Donner Lake route are now arriving nightly completely loaded down with passengers."[121] Three coaches were running together to handle the passengers. Wells, Fargo & Co. headquarters in Virginia City had to be enlarged to accommodate all the employees and patrons of the Stage Department and the office remained open on Sunday afternoons for the convenience of those wishing to secure seats in the stages to California.[122]

The winter of 1867-1868 was another difficult one. By early October the weather turned severe and stagecoach operations became more uncertain until affairs reached a climax on December 10 when all the Wells, Fargo & Co.'s eastbound coaches were forced to return to Cisco because three bridges between there and the Truckee River had been swept away.[123] Travel on the route resumed soon with the stages going as far as Camp 24, four miles west of Crystal Peak, a new rail terminus,[124] but service remained unreliable with stages failing to arrive for as much as four days at a time. Wells, Fargo & Co. again established a snowshoe letter express with a messenger at each end to bridge the gap impassable for stages. Passengers were detained on the road, unable to go either way in the last week of December, although once again the Fast Freight teams of Wells, Fargo & Co. conducted by Crandall got through when the passenger stages could not and brought in a large quantity of mail and express matter.[125]

William Bennett, who had gained experience as a snowshoe expressman with Crandall the previous season encountered even greater difficulties according to newspaper releases:

> Severe Trip. — Yesterday, Mr. Bennett, attached to the stage service of Wells, Fargo & Co. went over the Geiger grade to carry the letter express. In returning, and when this side of Madden's station, his team became floundered in the immense snow drifts, and at last he got so far that to retrace his steps was impossible, and to advance was equally so. Here for an hour in the blinding snow, he endeavored to make headway, but the horses absolutely laid down in the traces, and in a few moments *froze to death.* Bennett, finding it impossible to continue with his jumper, secured whatever of value he had, and unhitching his live horse, mounted, and after a terrible ride through snow which enveloped both horse and rider, succeeded in getting to this city, nearly dead with cold and almost exhausted.[126]

During the disruption of stagecoach service along the Donner Lake route, stages via Placerville arrived on time bringing both mails and passengers. Carson City residents complained bitterly that this more reliable route was being neglected to the detriment of their community, in a desperate effort to sustain the railroad.[127] March brought the severest storm of the season. A snowslide at Emigrant Gap swept away a portion of the railroad track. The *Trespass* revealed that a train of the Central Pacific was stuck in a tunnel in the high Sierra: "The cars on the Central Pacific got into a queer fix yesterday. The train started through the great tunnel, but found that the snow had so drifted at the mouth thereof that the snowplow could not be forced through. Several unsuccessful attempts were made to force a passage; then a retrograde movement was tried, but without success, and so there the train stuck, unable to move either way."[128] Even so, Wells, Fargo & Co. succeeded in getting the mail through by a snowshoe express.[129] As soon as the railroad cleared the tracks, the company placed four stagecoaches on the road to the railhead loaded with passengers, mail, and express. Stages coming into Virginia City brought passengers who had been ten days on the road.[130]

For several months the Central Pacific had been laying rails between Crystal Peak and the Washoe Valley to the east. Time could thus be saved while the very difficult section at the crest could be slowly conquered, partially by means of snowsheds. On April 1, 1868, the

Donner Lake stages of Wells, Fargo & Co. were scheduled to run from Virginia City to Camp 24, where they would connect with the train. The railroad would then be used for passengers and packages west to Coburn's Station. A second short stage connection was then maintained between Coburn's Station and Cisco. By dividing the stage route into two sections, twenty-five miles of the worst portion of the road would be avoided.[131] On April 18, 1868, the Central Pacific Railroad announced a decision to locate its closest depot to Virginia City at Lake's Crossing, or Reno, and railroad cars were expected to start arriving at that point from California by May 7.[132] Wells, Fargo & Co.'s stagecoaches actually connected with the Central Pacific trains at Reno on May 5, but there still remained about thirty miles of staging in the Sierra where the rails were not joined.[133] Four days later the stages from Virginia City to Reno were filled with passengers eager to buy lots being auctioned by the railroad. A Virginia City editor commented, "Everybody who could, went to Reno [we hope people won't pronounce this Ree-no — it is enough to make the gallant general Ren-o turn over in his bloody grave at South Mountain] to-day to attend the sale of town lots. They will all get rich — doubtless."[134] On May 16, cars of the Central Pacific ran as far as Summit Valley, leaving only twelve miles of staging between railroad connections. The next week the train was expected to come through the great tunnel and by June 15 the track was scheduled to be laid to Cold Creek, where a through connection would be made with the eastern section.[135] On June 18, 1868, the *Daily Trespass* made the following brief announcement: "Last evening we received a dispatch from Coburn's stating that the last connecting rail between California and Nevada, on the Central Pacific Railroad, had been laid. Tomorrow the cars will be run direct from Reno to Sacramento."[136]

Many changes had been made in the preceding three weeks in the freight, express, and staging business of Wells, Fargo & Co. on both routes across the Sierra. First, the Pacific Union Express Co., an ally of the Central Pacific Railroad, announced its organization on May 30, 1868, to compete with Wells, Fargo & Co. for the freight and express business as an adjunct to the railroad.[137] Second, Wells, Fargo & Co. announced the establishment of an "Accommodation Line" running between Reno and Virginia City as early as June 4.[138]

A rate war between the Pacific Union Express and Wells Fargo ensued for several months and passengers could travel on Wells Fargo stages for $3 or on the Fast Freight Line for $1.[139] Third, Wells, Fargo & Co. made a contract with H. W. Baker, operator of a line of stagecoaches for both passengers and fast freight on the Placerville road, to carry mails and express across the Sierra by that route until such time as Wells, Fargo & Co.'s mail contract expired.[140] With these arrangements completed, Wells, Fargo & Co. withdrew from stagecoach operations on the trans-Sierra route, a service in which it had an interest for a decade, with an ever-increasing financial investment and responsibility for running stages, as it purchased the Pioneer Stage Company and the California Stage Co.'s trans-Sierra route. The company's Stage Department, active since 1866, thenceforth was concerned with operating the remaining stretch of its main Overland Mail line between the approaching railheads of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads and with its many hundreds of miles of feeder lines in Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, and Montana.

## NOTES

1. Joint Stock Agreement of March 18, 1852. Original manuscript copy in the History Room, Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco.

2. *New York Times,* May 20, 1852, p. 4, c. 5; *New York Herald,* May 22, 1852, p. 1, c. 3.

3. F. A. Bannard, *Register of First-Class Business Houses in San Francisco, 1852,* p. 46.

4. *Alta California,* October 8, 1853, p. 4, c. 7.

5. *Sacramento Daily Union,* July 29, 1851, p. 3, c. 5; P. Sioli, *Historical Souvenir of Eldorado County,* 1883, p. 127.

6. *The Placer Weekly Herald,* March 5, 1853, p. 1, c. 1; February 25, 1854, p. 3, c. 3; August 4, 1855, p. 3, c. 4.

7. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City, Nevada), June 9, 1864, p. 2, c. 6; p. 3, c. 1.

8. The *Carson Daily Appeal,* July 4, 1865, p. 2, c. 4.

9. *Gold Hill Daily News,* August 31, 1866, p. 2, c. 5.

10. Minute Book of the Board of Directors of Wells, Fargo & Co., July 14, July 15, September 16, and December 15, 1864.

11. For example: *Daily Reese River Reveille,* November 12, 1866, p. 2, c. 4;

the *New York Tribune* of November 6, 1866, as quoted in *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), November 28, 1866, p. 2, c. 3; *The Daily Union Vedette* (Salt Lake City), November 27, 1866, p. 2, c. 3.

12. W. Turrentine Jackson, "A New Look at Wells Fargo, Stagecoaches and the Pony Express," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLV (December, 1966), 307.

13. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), August 31, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

14. *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 31, 1866, p. 2, c. 5; *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), August 31, 1866, p. 2, c. 6.

15. *Daily Trespass* (Virginia City), June 21, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

16. *Daily Trespass*, March 1, 1867, p. 2, c. 4; April 4, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; *Gold Hill Daily News*, July 29, 1867, p. 4, c. 1; *Daily Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City) May 1, 1868, p. 2, c. 6.

17. *The Reno Crescent*, August 1, 1868, p. 2, c. 5.

18. Because of space limitations, reports of stage robberies and pursuit of highwaymen have been omitted from this article, but incidents illustrative of Wells Fargo's vicissitudes and struggles in keeping the lines running despite mud, flood and heavy snow, over difficult terrain and roads which in some stretches could only be described as "terrible," have been briefly included where they have had any bearing on the nature and reliability of the service.

19. Tracy's relations with Wells Fargo were interesting. For a time he operated a Pacific Express which competed with Wells Fargo between Sacramento and Placerville. He gave that up in 1857 when he obtained the exclusive privilege of transporting express on Crandall's trans-Sierra stages, but he also in that year, while conducting his own express, became associated with Wells, Fargo & Co. in the first of a long series of positions he was to hold with that company. Wells Fargo at the time was occupying a fireproof brick building in Placerville, constructed in 1856 when its business there had already grown to a point justifying such an edifice.

The evolving pattern of transportation through Placerville can be read in the files of the town's newspaper. *Mountain Democrat* (Placerville), August 30, 1856, p. 2, c. 7; June 20, 1857, p. 3, c. 2; July 18, 1857, p. 3, c. 1; October 24, 1857, p. 2, c. 1; March 6, 1858, p. 2, c. 2; May 15, 1858, p. 2, c. 5.

20. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1859, p. 2, c. 1; p. 2, c. 3.

21. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1859, p. 2, c. 1.

22. Minute Book of the Board of Directors of Wells, Fargo & Co. Original in History Room of Wells Fargo Bank. Personnel appointments for California can be traced in the entries of March 22, 1855; February 20, March 5, June 4, and October 23, 1856.

23. *Mountain Democrat*, September 12, 1860, p. 3, c. 1. The Virginia City

*Daily Union* was also quoted in *The Daily Appeal* (Marysville), September 16, 1860: "The Pioneer Stage Company are now running a daily line of stages from Sacramento to Carson Valley, going through from Sacramento to Virginia City in two days," p. 4, c. 1.

24. *Mountain Democrat,* February 16, 1861, p. 3, c. 1, announced that Wells, Fargo & Co. had a daily express service over the mountains between Placerville and the "Utah Mines."

25. A. C. Richardson to Frank S. Stevens, December 27, 1860, January 4, May 18, May 25, 1861, and letter with an illegible date. This correspondence is available in The Huntington Library, San Marino.

26. W. Turrentine Jackson, "A New Look at Wells Fargo, Stagecoaches and the Pony Express," *loc. cit.*, pp. 291-324. Minute Book of the Overland Mail Company, Entries for January 29, 1858, pp. 19-21; Feb. 16, 1858, pp. 36-37; May 13, 1858, p. 54; November 12, 1858, pp. 72-73. Original in History Room, Wells Fargo Bank.

27. Minute Book of the Overland Mail Company. Entries for August 11, 1859, p. 106; November 11, 1859, p. 116; March 17, 1860, p. 120; March 19, 1860, p. 131; March 20, 1860, pp. 131-132; April 27, 1860, pp. 136-137. For additional details see Jackson, "A New Look . . . ," *loc. cit.*, pp. 298-301.

28. U. S. *Statutes at Large,* xii, 206.

29. All contracts and correspondence relative to the negotiations of March 8-16 can be read in the Minute Book of the Overland Mail Company, pp. 146-156. A committee from Wells, Fargo & Co., Messrs. D. N. Barney, B. P. Cheney and William G. Fargo, reported that they "had used every effort to prevent any injury to the interests of your Company."

30. Contract of Joint Carriage of Mail Between the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company and the Overland Mail Company. The original copy of this important document is in the William B. Waddell Papers, The Huntington Library. The Seventh Section included contractual provisions with Wells, Fargo & Co.

31. Minute Book of the Overland Mail Company, August 16, 1861, p. 166; September 26, 1861, p. 173. The contract was signed in July, examined and debated by the board in August, and unanimously approved in September.

32. Descriptions can be read in the *Mountain Democrat,* July 6, 1861, p. 2, c. 6, and July 20, 1861, p. 2, c. 3.

33. *Ibid.,* October 26, 1861, p. 3, c. 1; November 16, 1861, p. 2, c. 5; August 2, 1862, p. 2, c. 2. The following comments are typical of dozens: "Truly, Wells, Fargo & Co. are a great 'institution,' and their agents and clerks the fastest and cleverest fellows in all Expressdome. May their tribe increase." and "Theo. Tracy, agent for this city is too well known to make it necessary for us to say anything in his behalf. 'Everybody knows Theo.' "

34. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1862, p. 2, c. 7; *Daily Silver Age* (Carson City, Nevada), October 2, 1862, p. 3, c. 4. The latter newspaper had run an advertisement, including time-tables, throughout September and October, 1862.

35. The California and Nevada newspapers were full of tributes to the enterprise of these companies. See the *Mountain Democrat*, for example, May 23, 1863, p. 2, c. 1; May 30, 1863, p. 2, c. 7.

36. *Gold Hill Daily News*, January 16, 1864, p. 2, c. 3, quoting statistics that had appeared in San Francisco's *Alta California*. See also April 22, 1864, p. 2, c. 4. Similar articles on the route of the Pioneer Stage Co. across the Sierra, the amount of equipment, number of employees, hotels patronized, and total number of passengers carried appeared in the Virginia City *Daily Territorial Enterprise* and were reprinted, at times, in the *Daily Reese River Reveille* of Austin, Nevada. See, for example, June 19, 1864, p. 4, c. 2.

37. *Virginia City Evening Bulletin*, April 29, 1864, p. 4, c. 2. This advertisement first appeared in the newspaper on February 24, 1864. *The Daily Old Piute* (Virginia City), June 18, 1864, p. 4, c. 1, first printed on May 11, 1864. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), May 4, 1864, p. 3, c. 1.

38. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City) June 17, 1864, p. 3, c. 1; June 19, 1864, p. 3, c. 2. This newspaper revealed the exact route traveled by the Pioneer stages and the distance between stations: "... Virginia to Carson, 16 miles; Carson to Friday's 22½, Friday's to Yank's 10, Yank's to Strawberry 10, Strawberry to Sugar Loaf Station 11, Sugar Loaf Station to Bartram's 13½, Bartram's to Sportsman's Hall 6, Sportman's Hall to Placerville 12, Placerville to Latrobe 17. Total by coach 118 miles. Latrobe to Sacramento, by cars 36½, saving 18 miles of coach travel and adding about 10 miles of railroad as now run to Latrobe."

39. *Carson Daily Independent* (Carson City), June 17, 1864, p. 1, c. 7.

40. *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 22, 1864, p. 2, c. 4; August 24, 1864, p. 3, c. 2. A similar advertisement was run in *The Daily Constitution* (Virginia City), December 23, 1864, p. 1, c. 7.

41. *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 24, 1864, p. 3, c. 1.

42. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), September 14, 1864, p. 3, c. 2.

43. For a report on stage difficulties during the winter, see the *Gold Hill Daily News*, November 28, 1864, p. 2, c. 1; December 1 1864, p. 2, c. 1; December 2, 1864, p. 3, c. 1; December 15, 1864, p. 2, c. 1; December 19, 1864, p. 3, c. 1; December 31, 1864, p. 2, c. 2. See also, *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), December 10, 1864, p. 3, c. 3.

44. Minute Book of the Board of Directors of Wells, Fargo & Co., July 14, July 15, September 16, and December 15, 1864.

45. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), June 9, 1864, p. 2, c. 6.

46. *The Daily Old Piute*, June 18, 1864, p. 4, c. 2; *Gold Hill Daily News*, June 11, 1864, p. 2, c. 5.

47. *Gold Hill Daily News,* June 30, 1865, p. 2, c. 5.

48. For example, see the *Gold Hill Daily News,* January 19, 1865, p. 2, c. 1; February 7, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; March 28, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

49. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), January 15, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; January 20, 1865, p. 2, c. 5; March 28, 1865, p. 3, c. 3.

50. *Gold Hill Daily News,* April 7, 1865, p. 2, c. 1. Continuing comments on the effective service of the Pioneer Stage Company can be read in the issues of April 8, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; April 28, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; May 15, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

51. *Carson Daily Appeal,* May 18, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

52. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), August 26, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; *Gold Hill Daily News,* August 28, 1865, p. 2, c. 1; The *Carson Daily Appeal,* August 27, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

53. The *Placerville Mirror* quoted in the *Daily Reese River Reveille,* August 24, 1865, p. 1, c. 5.

54. *The Stars and Stripes* (Auburn), August 23, 1865, p. 2, c. 5. For additional comment see *Daily Reese River Reveille,* August 24, 1865, p. 1, c. 5, quoting *The Placer Herald.*

55. Articles from which these statements have been taken can be seen in *Gold Hill Daily News,* May 31, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; June 5, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; June 15, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; and *Mountain Democrat,* June 24, 1865, p. 2, c. 3.

56. *Gold Hill Daily News,* August 30, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

57. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), August 31, 1865, p. 3, c. 1. This news article was reprinted in the *Carson Daily Appeal,* September 1, 1865, p. 1, c. 1.

58. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), September 1, 1865, p. 2, c. 4; *Gold Hill Daily News,* September 1, 1865, p. 2, c. 6.

59. *Gold Hill Daily News,* September 1, 1865, p. 3, c. 1. This news article was reprinted in the *Carson Daily Appeal,* September 2, 1865, p. 2, c. 3. The editor continued to express his preference. See issue of September 22, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

60. *Daily Reese River Reveille,* September 2, 1865, p. 2, c. 2. Additional comment on the changing stage service will be found in *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), September 1, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; September 2, 1865, p. 3, c. 1. For the timing of railroad construction and its relationship to staging, see *The Stars and Stripes,* August 23, 1865, p. 2, c. 5, and *Grass Valley Union,* August 31, 1865, and September 3, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

61. *Grass Valley Union,* August 29, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; *The Nevada Daily Gazette* (Nevada City), August 30, 1865, p. 2, c. 2; *The Daily Appeal* (Marysville), August 30, 1865, p. 3, c. 2.

62. *Nevada Daily Gazette,* September 14, 1865, p. 4, c. 1. This news item was reprinted in the Marysville *Daily Appeal* without comment, September 15, 1865, p. 3, c. 1. It also appeared in the *Carson Daily Appeal,* September 20, 1865, p. 4,

c. 1. The sale was not consummated, however. According to the *Nevada Daily Gazette,* October 13, 1865, p. 3, c. 1, "... the California Stage Company have sold to William Hamilton the route from Colfax to North San Juan. This is without doubt the best and most profitable stage route in the State — carrying all the passengers to and from Grass Valley, Nevada and the upper portions of the county, also much of the travel from the Sierra."

63. *Nevada Daily Gazette,* October 2, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

64. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), December 21, 1865, p. 3, c. 2; December 28, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; December 29, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; January 19, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

65. *Gold Hill Daily News,* October 21, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

66. *Carson Daily Appeal,* October 14, 1865, p. 3, c. 1.

67. *Ibid.,* November 25, 1865, p. 3, c. 1; *Gold Hill Daily News,* November 25, 1865, p. 2, c. 5; *Daily Reese River Reveille,* November 30, 1865, p. 3, c. 5.

68. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), January 13, 1866, p. 3, c. 2.

69. *Carson Daily Appeal,* April 6, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; April 10, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

70. *Ibid.,* April 20, 1866, p. 3, c. 1. Valentine and Crandall were very popular in western Nevada and the subject of many complimentary remarks by local editors: See, for example, *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), April 20, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; May 2, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; May 12, 1866, p. 3, c. 2.

71. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), December 7, 1866, p. 3, c. 1. This newspaper editor said, "It is a notorious fact that whenever the firm of Wells, Fargo & Co. desire to possess anything desirable they manage to succeed, and they number among their employees the very best businessmen on the coast." The *Mountain Democrat* of Placerville reprinted this account and made additional complimentary remarks about Tracy, December 15, 1866, p. 2, c. 1. The article appeared with editorial comment in *The Placerville Courier,* December 15, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

72. *The Stars and Stripes,* July 18, 1866, p. 4, c. 2. Advertisement.

73. *Ibid.,* June 27, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

74. *Ibid.,* December 5, 1866, p. 2, c. 5.

75. *The Placerville Courier,* July 28, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

76. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), December 3, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; December 20, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; *Carson Daily Appeal,* December 28, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; December 29, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; *Gold Hill Daily News,* December 22, 1866.

77. *Daily Reese River Reveille,* January 2, 1866, p. 4, c. 1.

78. *The Placerville Courier,* March 9, 1867, p. 2, c. 3.

79. *Gold Hill Daily News,* March 10, 1865, p. 2, c. 1.

80. *Ibid.,* June 30, 1865, p. 2, c. 5; *Carson Daily Appeal,* July 4, 1865, p. 2, c. 4.

81. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), July 1, 1865, p. 2, c. 6, and p. 3, c. 2.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 3, c. 2.

83. *Gold Hill Daily News*, January 2, 1866, p. 1, c. 2.

84. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), August 30, 1866, p. 3, c. 2; August 31, 1866, p. 3, c. 1. See advertisement in this last issue, p. 2, c. 6. The same advertisement appeared in the *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 31, 1866, p. 2, c. 5.

85. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), September 12, 1866, p. 3, c. 1.

86. *Ibid.*, October 16, 1866, p. 3, c. 1; December 10, 1866, p. 3, c. 3. This newspaper revealed that a man clad only in a light linen coat had boarded Wells, Fargo & Co.'s "fast freight *stage*" without paying and upon arrival at the Crystal Lake station suddenly expired, the doctors reporting he had frozen to death.

87. *Daily Reese River Reveille*, January 9, 1866, p. 3, c. 4; May 31, 1866, p. 2, c. 1; June 11, 1866, p. 4, c. 2; June 29, 1866, p. 2, c. 2.

88. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1866, p. 2, c. 2.

89. Quoted in *Daily Reese River Reveille*, November 12, 1866, p. 2, c. 4. The news had traveled fast from New York to San Francisco and back to Austin, Nevada, or the *Alta California* had prior knowledge of the grand consolidation. The agreement had been signed on November 1, 1866.

90. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), January 10, 1867, p. 3, c. 1. An identical statement appeared on the same date in the *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, p. 3, c. 1.

91. *Gold Hill Daily News*, March 1, 1867, p. 4, c. 6. This official statement appeared in many other newspapers at the same time.

92. Minutes of the Holladay Overland Mail and Express Company, p. 43. Original in History Room, Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco.

93. *Mountain Democrat*, January 26, 1867, p. 3, c. 3.

94. *Gold Hill Daily News*, January 2, 1867, p. 2, c. 4; *Daily Reese River Reveille*, February 11, 1867, p. 2, c. 4; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, March 2, 1867, p. 3, c. 7.

95. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), January 18, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

96. *Ibid.*, January 26, 1867, p. 3, c. 2; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, January 25, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; January 27, 1867, p. 2, c. 1-2.

97. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), February 4, 1867, p. 3, c. 2; *Daily Territorial Enterprise*, February 5, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; *Daily Tresspass*, February 23, 1867, p. 3, c. 3.

98. *The Daily Union* (Virginia City), January 28, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.

99. *Daily Trespass*, February 25, 1867, p. 3, c. 2; February 27, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

100. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

101. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1867, p. 2, c. 2; p. 3, c. 3.

102. *Ibid.,* March 1, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

103. According to the *Daily Trespass,* March 1, 1867, p. 3, c. 2, they expected to use a light sleigh to Friday's Station. The *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* March 2, 1867, p. 3, c. 1, suggested a stage and pack animals would be used until snowshoes became necessary.

104. *Daily Trespass,* March 2, 1867, p. 2, c. 1. This newspaper printed the telegraphic dispatch in full.

105. *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* March 5, 1867, p. 3, c. 2. A full account of the trip of the expressmen on snowshoes is found here.

106. *Daily Trespass,* March 6, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.

107. *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* March 7, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

108. *Daily Trespass,* March 8, 1867, p. 3, c. 3.

109. *Ibid.,* March 9, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; *Carson Daily Appeal,* March 9, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; March 12, 1867, p. 2, c. 3.

110. *Gold Hill Daily News,* January 28, 1867, p. 1, c. 1; February 12, 1867, p. 2, c. 5; *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* February 13, 1867, p. 3, c. 2; *Daily Reese River Reveille,* February 15, 1867, p. 4, c. 1.

111. *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* February 13, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.

112. *Daily Trespass,* February 28, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.

113. *Ibid.,* March 15, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.

114. *Carson Daily Appeal,* April 12, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; April 14, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

115. *Daily Trespass,* April 12, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; April 17, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; April 19, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; April 29, 1867, p. 3, c. 2; *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* April 16, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.

116. *Daily Trespass,* May 7, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

117. *Ibid.,* June 21, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

118. *Ibid.,* July 6, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; *Gold Hill Daily News,* July 1, 1867, p. 3, c. 4; July 23, 1867, p. 3, c. 5.

119. *Daily Trespass,* July 24, 1867, p. 2, c. 3. A similar advertisement quoting all rates appeared in the *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* July 25, 1867, p. 2, c. 5, and *Gold Hill Daily News,* July 29, 1867, p. 4, c. 1.

120. *Daily Trespass,* June 22, 1867, p. 3, c. 3; July 6, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

121. *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* August 2, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.

122. *Daily Trespass,* August 1, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; August 21, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; August 22, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

123. *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* December 10, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

124. *Daily Trespass,* December 13, 1867, p. 3, c. 1.

125. *Ibid.,* December 23, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; December 27, 1867, p. 3, c. 1; December 30, 1867, p. 3, c. 2.

126. *Ibid.,* January 3, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.

127. *Carson Daily Appeal,* November 20, 1867, p. 2, c. 2.

128. *Daily Trespass,* March 4, 1868, p. 3, c. 2; March 5, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.

129. *Ibid.,* March 6, 1868, p. 3, c. 1; March 7, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.

130. *Ibid.,* March 9, 1868, p. 3, c. 2; March 10, 1868, p. 3, c. 2; *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* March 12, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.

131. *Daily Trespass,* March 27, 1868, p. 3, c. 1; March 31, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.

132. *Ibid.,* April 18, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.

133. *Ibid.,* April 30, 1868, p. 3, c. 3; May 5, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.

134. *Ibid.,* May 9, 1868, p. 3, c. 2.

135. *Ibid.,* May 16, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.

136. *Ibid.,* June 18, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.

137. *Ibid.,* May 30, 1868, p. 2, c. 3.

138. *Ibid.,* June 4, 1868, p. 3, c. 1; *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* June 5, 1868, p. 3, c. 2. For an advertisement of this service, see *Enterprise,* p. 2, c. 5.

139. *Daily Trespass,* July 16, 1868, p. 3, c. 1.

140. *Daily Territorial Enterprise,* June 10, 1868, p. 3, c. 2.

# California's Constitution of 1879: An Unpaid Debt

*By* KENNETH M. JOHNSON

THE CREDIT POSITION of California is well demonstrated by the fact that as of January 1, 1965, state bonds were outstanding in the amount of approximately 3.17 billion dollars — all of which had been marketed at attractive rates from the point of view of the state. Also authorized but not issued were bonds totaling 2.75 billion dollars for which syndicates of sophisticated investors would eagerly bid. California has a reputation of paying its debts when due; however, there is one which has not been paid.

During the period of the discontented seventies one of the whipping boys was the Constitution of 1849; it was alleged that it permitted political control by the railroads, was drawn by those not schooled in the arts of government, and while possibly adequate for an agrarian state, was not adapted to the present day economics or politics. As a result of this there was agitation for a new and modern constitution. The legislature paid heed to this popular demand and in 1878 passed an act providing for a convention to form a new constitution.[1] Delegates were to be elected in a special election on June 19, 1878, and then, as more recently, there were many arguments as to apportionment; however, this knotty problem was finally resolved. It is interesting to note that the city and county of San Francisco had thirty delegates and the county of Los Angeles three. On the ballot six parties were represented, but only four succeeded in electing delegates: Republican, Democratic, Workingmen, and Peoples Non-Partisan. One hundred and fifty-two were elected and as to party affiliation were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Non-Partisan | 80 |
| Democrats | 9 |
| Republicans | 11 |
| Workingmen | 52 |

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KENNETH M. JOHNSON, an attorney and retired vice-president of the Bank of America, is one of California's most noted legal historians and authors.

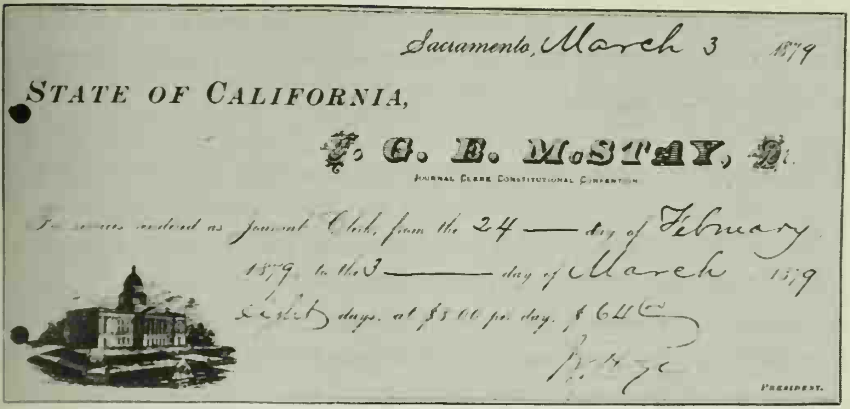
As to occupations lawyers and farmers predominated; there were fifty-nine of the former and thirty-six of the latter. On the whole there were thirty-five other occupations represented, such as music teacher, bookseller, printer, cook, gas-fitter, doctor of medicine, and many others. It was a well mixed group.

The act authorizing the convention appropriated the sum of $150,000 for expenses, but provided that the delegates could not have a per diem compensation after one hundred days of the convention had elapsed. The convention first met on September 28, 1878, but due to the political elements present representing many diverse points of view, it soon became apparent that it would be impossible to have an acceptable draft of a new constitution within the one-hundred-day period. Insofar as expenses were concerned there was also trouble; in fact the $150,000 was almost exhausted on the eighty-fifth day.[2]

As the hundredth day approached the members discussed the question of whether they should continue in an attempt to form a new constitution, or whether the convention should be dissolved. Funds were, of course, lacking, but the members by a very large majority decided to continue after some very acrimonious debate in which those desiring to stop were termed traitors.[3] The convention finally succeeded in forming a constitution which was adopted by the people in a special election held in May, 1879, and is with amendments the constitution we have today. Final adjournment was on March 3, 1879, the 157th day of the meeting.

Due to the fact that the appropriation had been exhausted long before the end of the convention, the delegates determined to issue scrip for the per diem to the members and also to those who rendered services, such as clerks, secretaries, janitors, etc. A great variety of expenses were thus covered, and some of the discussions in retrospect are to an extent amusing. One of the regular porters had paid forty-five dollars to another for assistance; the question was whether the regular porter was to get scrip in payment:

> The President: The question is on the adoption of the resolution.
>
> Mr. Edgerton: I think the gentleman is entitled to this sum. I hope the Chairman will make an explanation, so that the Convention will understand it.
>
> Mr. Walker: It seems that one Porter retired and another stepped into his place. Two warrants have been issued to Glat and Jones. Therefore, the committee



Sacramento, March 3 1879

STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

To G. E. McSTAY, Dr.

JOURNAL CLERK CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

To services rendered as Journal Clerk, from the 24 — day of February 1879 to the 3 — day of March 1879 Eight days. at $8 00 per day, $64.00

J. P. Hoge

PRESIDENT.

Courtesy of the Author

Facsimile of a warrant issued to G. E. McStay by the Constitutional Convention of 1879.

could not see how the third Porter can possibly demand pay from the Convention.

Mr. Edgerton: I understand that these two Porters could not do all the work, for the reason that the gas was shut off at night, so that they had to wait till morning, and this money was paid out for assistance.

Mr. Walker: It is a fact that he has paid the money out.

Mr. Edgerton: He did it for the convenience and health of this body. They had one hundred and fifty-six spittoons to clean out every day, and a large amount of other work to do.[4]

Individual warrants were issued to the various creditors as evidence of goods supplied or services rendered, and were signed by J. P. Hoge, who acted as president of the convention. It has been estimated that the approximate amount of such scrip was $75,000. In order to make sure that the scrip would be paid the convention placed in the new constitution Article XX, Section 19, which read as follows:

> *Payment of expenses of convention.* Nothing in this Constitution shall prevent the legislature from providing, by law, for the payment of the expenses of the convention framing this Constitution, including the per diem of the delegates for the full term thereof.

This section remained in the constitution until November 8, 1949, when by amendment it was deleted as obsolete; however, the scrip was never paid.

Why the scrip was never paid or redeemed by the state probably rests in the rather peculiar political situation which developed subsequent to the adoption of the constitution. Rather quickly there arose a feeling that the new constitution was worse than the old, and it was the subject of some very vigorous attacks. The Chinese had not disappeared, the railroads were still in control of politics, unemployment was high, and the price of wheat had not gone up. As one writer puts it — "One section of the press, under railroad and corporation influence, as bitterly denounced the convention and all its works as Kearney had denounced the San Francisco capitalists."[5]

Regardless of the general hostility to which the constitution was subject, the question of payment was placed before the legislature during its next session, the twenty-third, in 1880. Assembly Bill 150 provided for payment, and the bill was referred to the Committee on Claims; the report of that committee follows:

> Mr. Speaker: Your Committee on Claims beg leave to report that they have had under consideration Assembly Bill No. 150 — An Act to appropriate moneys to pay the deficiencies in the expenses of the late Constitutional Convention and report the same back as follows:
>
> Your committee is unanimous in the opinion that the members, officers, and attaches of said Convention are entitled to full payment for the unpaid residue of the one hundred days authorized by the Act convening the Constitutional Convention — and, therefore, they hereby submit a bill appropriating the sum of twenty thousand and seventy-nine dollars and ninety-one cents, for that purpose, and recommend its passage. Your committee is also of the opinion that the officers and attaches of the late Constitutional Convention are entitled to compensation for the services rendered by them during the fifty-seven days that said Convention was in session, over and above the one hundred days allowed by the Act convening said Convention, and, therefore they do herewith submit a bill appropriating the sum of seven thousand and fourteen dollars and forty-seven cents, for that purpose, and do recommend its passage.
>
> As to the payment of the per diem of the members of the late Constitutional Convention, for the fifty seven days that the said Convention was in session, over and above the one hundred days authorized by the Act convening it, your committee is unable to agree, and they therefore respectfully report the subject back to the Assembly without recommendation.
>
> All of which is respectfully submitted.
>
> Merry, Chairman.[6]

The majority of the members of the legislature shared the popular antipathy to the Constitution of 1879, and as a result no action as to payment was taken. The general attitude of at least the assembly is well shown by the following words by the speaker at the closing session:

> At eleven o'clock this Assembly will adjourn *sine die.* The work of its members —our work is done. If it be good, our constituents will say, "Well done". If not good their disapproval will follow us throughout our political career. If we have failed it is consoling to know that the Constitution is not altogether blameless . . .
>
> It was said that this body was opposed to the Constitution, and that a majority was elected to mystify its provisions. Let the work of the majority be its judge.[7]

The unpopularity of the new constitution continued for several years. The front cover of the *San Francisco Wasp,* for February 19, 1881, was devoted to a powerful cartoon in which California was depicted as a poor but honest miner; coiled around the miner and crushing out his life was a huge boa-constrictor labeled "The New Constitution". In fact the Constitution of 1879 was and is a very odd document; it contains a mass of material which is legislative in nature, and not properly a part of an organic act. It has been the object of technical criticism over the years, but as noted at the start of this article the state has prospered under it.

One of the unspoken reasons for the attitude of the legislature was that to a very large degree the constitutional convention scrip had passed into the hands of private speculators. A San Francisco capitalist, James de Fremery, acquired a small amount. De Fremery invested money for himself and others, and is today best remembered as the author of the first book on mortgages published in California.[8] By far the most interesting purchaser of the scrip, and the holder of the greatest amount was John Kelly. His story is well told in the *Sacramento Union* of December 2, 1916.

> John Kelly, formerly a gardener for the late Governor Leland Stanford, and one of the most unique characters of the early days in California, passed away at noon here yesterday at the age of 90 years. Kelly who had been an incompetent for the past four years, left his entire estate to charity, it is stated, but more than 100 members of the family from Ireland, will contest the will. Kelly's estate is said to be worth about $250,000.
>
> Kelly arrived in the United States from Ireland when about 21 years old, and came to California with the gold rush. After amassing a considerable fortune in mining, he became the gardener for Governor Stanford, serving in that capacity for so many years that he became almost one of the family. For the past four years, Kelly had been unable to handle his estate and Dwight Miller of this city was appointed his guardian.
>
> The aged man was particularly active during the constitutional convention of 1879. That body was limited by law to a life of 100 days, and when it was unable to

finish its labors within the appointed time, it issued scrip with the understanding that the next legislature would reimburse the holders of the scrip for its face value. Kelly purchased the scrip from employees and members of the convention, securing approximately $60,000 at the rate of 65 cents on the dollar. Unfortunately for Kelly, the next legislature was hostile to the constitution, and because Kelly, by his purchase of the scrip had made possible the completion of the convention's labors, it refused to pay up on the scrip.

Each two years thereafter, for many sessions, Kelly regularly appeared before the legislature, but his pleas were without avail.

When the San Francisco ferry building was promoted Kelly was the largest individual subscriber to the bonds in this state.

The will turning over the estate to charity probably will be filed next week, and with that action will come the contests of the relatives of the aged man, or those claiming to be relatives, to secure the property. Kelly was a bachelor, without any near blood kin living in America.

In addition to the hostility to the constitution, the legislature was possibly consciously or unconsciously motivated by the fact that Kelly was something of a loan shark. He operated in the capitol and made a specialty of salary loans to members of the legislature, state officials and governmental employees. Kelly was willing in certain cases to advance an entire year's salary, and one can well imagine the discount involved. While such an operation may be helpful in many situations, it was not one which would lead to personal popularity.

When the will was filed the forecast proved to be true: the entire estate was left in perpetual trust with the income to be divided equally between Roman Catholic and Protestant orphanages in San Francisco. The expected attacks on the will also came, but the end result was that the will was sustained. The Inventory and Appraisment, filed in the probate proceedings, shows a total estate of $174,942.27; in this figure there was included constitution convention scrip in the face amount of $58,908.28, but valued at $500. Even this latter figure was too high; the trustees of the Kelly estate subsequently sought payment, but without success. The scrip still remains unpaid.

NOTES

1. Statutes of 1877-1878, p. 759.

2. *Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of California, convened at the City of Sacramento, Saturday September 28, 1879,* (Sacramento 1880-1881), II, 806.

3. *Ibid,* II, 880, 902.

4. *Ibid,* III, 1494.

5. Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1926), p. 422.

6. *Journal of the Assembly, 23rd Session* (Sacramento, 1880), p. 355.

7. *Ibid,* p. 895.

8. James de Fremery, *Mortgages in California — A Practical Essay* (San Francisco, 1860).

# The Missionization of the Coast Miwok Indians of California

### *By* CHARLES C. COLLEY

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THERE HAVE BEEN many detailed anthropological and ethnographic studies done on the California Indian tribes which came under mission control, but mission histories usually group all Indians in a very general manner. This paper proposes to examine the Coast Division of the California Miwok Indians and their reactions to Spanish civilization from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, by the use of both historical and anthropological materials. It is hoped that this will provide more information on the intercultural responses of both groups.

The Coast Miwok, with an aboriginal population estimated by S. F. Cook at three thousand, occupied a region of approximately 880 square miles north of San Francisco Bay, covering nearly all of present day Marín, the southern part of Sonoma, and a small part of Napa County.[1] Within this area the people spoke two slightly different dialects, the Western, or Bodega, in the area near Bodega Bay, and the Southern or, Marín, in the remainder of the territory.[2]

The first Coast Miwok encounter with the Spanish was made in 1595 when Sebastían Rodríguez Cermeño, sailing from the Philippines with about seventy men, anchored his ship the *San Agustín* in Drake's Bay on November 6, 1595. Many Indians came to the shore to watch the Spaniards, and one rowed to the ship on a tule *balsa* (raft) propelled with a two-bladed paddle. He talked to the crew in his native language and was given cotton cloth, silk, and a red cap, which he took back to the shore. Spanish generosity was no doubt promoted by a need for food supplies which they hoped to acquire from the Indians. The next day four more native men paddled to the ship and were also given gifts of cloth which they took back to the beach.[3] As soon as these natives left, Cermeño went ashore in the ship's boat with twenty-two armed men. The party landed near some dugout houses inhabited by the

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natives. The Indians were described as "well-built, robust, and inclined to fatness. The men were entirely naked, but the women wore grass or skin skirts. Their hair was worn long and their breasts and arms were painted."[4]

Cermeño formally claimed the land and port in the name of the King of Spain, calling it "La Bahía de San Francisco," and it was so christened by a Franciscan friar who was present.[5] Then, accompanied by his men he proceeded to look over an Indian village a short distance from the beach where about fifty adults watched the strangers in apparent fear.

For about a week Cermeño's crew occupied themselves building a fortified camp on the shore and putting together a small launch *(viroco)* transported to California aboard the *San Agustín*. They were surrounded and observed at all times by the curious Miwok inhabitants of the area.

Late in November a tragedy befell the Spanish when the *San Agustín* was run aground by a strong on-shore gale.[6] A number of men, the bulk of cargo and what food supplies they possessed were lost leaving the survivors stranded on shore. The only hope for escape was the Philippine launch, but first more food had to be secured before a journey to Mexico could be attempted. Cermeño, eleven Spaniards and some Indians travelled nine miles inland where, trading at various Coast Miwok villages, they obtained limited quantities of acorns and hazelnuts.

On December 8, the survivors crowded onto the Philippine launch, named hopefully the *San Buenaventura,* and sailed southward toward the coast of Mexico. After a perilous journey of seven weeks the party reached Mexico City.[7]

Tangible evidence of the Cermeño expedition was found by anthropologists years later in the discovery of ten iron spikes from planks of the *San Agustín* wreckage which the Indians salvaged to roof their underground dwellings. When the houses were abandoned or were burned, as often happened, the spikes remained buried in the site.[8] Broken pieces of Chinese porcelain were also found in piles with emptied clamshells, broken tools, and other rubbish. Evidently it had been acquired in the South Pacific by the Spanish for trade. When washed ashore the china was utilized by the Coast Miwok until it became too broken to be of further value.[9]

The encounter between Cermeño and the Coast Miwok had little long range effect, except to indicate for the purposes of this paper the accessibility of Coast Miwok villages to Europeans, and the peaceful character of native culture before prolonged Spanish contact.

The next Spanish penetration into this area, which led to permanent settlement, did not come until the Gaspar de Portolá expedition which reached the Golden Gate in 1769. Portolá took note of the topography of the area and of the gentleness of the natives in the vicinity of present San Francisco, to whom he gave gifts of beads. His soldiers explored far enough north on the east side of San Francisco Bay to observe San Pablo Bay, "another estuary of equal magnitude and extent with the one which we had in sight . . . but that in order to go round it one would have to travel many leagues . . . and that the mountains were rough and difficult."[10] Satisfied with reaching San Francisco, Portolá returned to San Diego from where he had set out. Reports which he wrote regarding the expedition were so favorable that in a short time Spanish authorities gave permission for the establishment of five new missions, two of which were to be north of Monterey. San Francisco was immediately chosen for one of the sites, but the mission itself was not begun for about six years.[11]

The San Francisco Bay area was not visited after the Portolá expedition until 1772, when a party journeyed north from Monterey under Pedro Fages, "in order," according to Father Junípero Serra,

> to choose the site which might be the most appropriate for the Mission and at the same time get into communication with the pagan people of that region and win their good will in order that so much would be gained against the time when they would be able to establish the Mission.[12]

The Fages party travelled around the southern end of the bay and was impressed by its magnitude and the fertility of surrounding lands. In 1774 another land expedition made a more detailed exploration, and in the summer of 1775 a party in a small packetboat, the *San Carlos,* entered and explored the channel.[13]

In June, 1776, the Viceroy of New Spain sent thirty soldiers, twelve settlers and their families, and "two converted Indians from Old California and another from the Mission of San Carlos" to begin work on the building of the new mission to be known as San Francisco de Asís at Dolores.[14]

This became an important coast mission in northern California. Here the Coast Miwok, and Indians of many other tribes, were brought together. However, since mission administrators treated all Indians uniformly, it is almost impossible to pick out the Coast Miwok as individuals within the mission. Furthermore, contemporary observers of the missions often wrote such prejudiced and conflicting descriptions of the Indians that they are valueless.[15] Mission death and baptismal records give the most accurate statistical picture of specific Indian groups since they often included names of individuals or villages which can be tied by linguists to specific tribes.[16]

However, before some of the details of mission life are described, it should be pointed out that there were several overall effects of Spanish-Coast Miwok contact. The direct shock of a physical merger between two vastly different cultural groups was an immediate effect of Spanish contact. This ranged from slight, as in the case of temporary contact by Cermeño, or limited exploration of Indian lands and conversion of Indians in the early mission period, to the extremes of kidnapping, mixture of tribes, and punitive expeditions, in the later mission period. The upset in the aboriginal way of life must also be examined in respect to material culture and food supply.

It should also be pointed out that the missions had as a dominant goal the conversion of a people to a new way of thinking. Economic and political factors, while no doubt involved, were secondary. In order to realize their purposes the missions had to submerge (really try to eliminate) Indian culture.[17]

A request granted to Father Serra in 1773 by the Viceroy of New Spain was that "the missionaries were to have the right to manage the mission Indians as a father would manage his family, and the military . . . should . . . preserve perfect harmony."[18] The neophyte (newly baptized Indian) was to be kept like a child by the mission administration which encouraged him to believe that his superiors were, according to the French navigator, Jean François Galaup de la Pérouse, "in immediate and continual communication with God."[19]

Since conversion to Christianity necessitated redirecting the Indian's way of thinking it became essential to "brain-wash" from his mind many of the cultural traits which had distinguished him and his ancestors for generations. This resulted in a violent forced adaptation in California from a delicately adjusted native way of life, in the period of two to three generations, to an entirely new material and psychological environment.[20]

The specific missions, besides San Francisco, where this program affected the Coast Miwok were, until the mission system moved into their homeland in 1817, Santa Clara and San José. There, as in other parts of the Spanish Empire, the missionaries, skilled by the light of centuries of experience, played upon every conceivable desire of the "heathen" in order to get him into the mission. They emphasized the external show of their religion — the ceremony, music, and processions as well as holding out inducements of food and shelter.[21] Missions Santa Clara and San José were both established in 1772, and Paloú wrote regarding Santa Clara that local Indians were given clothes and surplus food in order "to attract them to the fold of the Holy Church."[22]

Conversion by force, therefore, was not resorted to, and in fact was not needed to attract Indians during the very early mission period in Upper California. Indians went to the missions from surrounding areas because of the inducements offered, even though they literally came to "belong" to the church once they were baptized.

This does not imply that there was complete acceptance of the mission system by the first neophytes. As early as 1781 Father Serra listed fifteen Indians whom he described as "confirmed apostates," and subsequent to that date no year passed without some mention of fugitives in official correspondence.[23]

The first Coast Miwok baptism is on record at San Francisco for the year 1783, so it can be assumed that limited numbers of Coast Miwok were being brought south at that time to share in the "benefits" of mission life. By the 1790's, however, it was becoming more difficult for clerical authorities to persuade the Indians to come into missions voluntarily for any reason. Why did resistance of the Indians to the mission grow? The answer lies in the basic differences between Indian and Spanish culture which became amplified in the mission surroundings.

Mission law took away the Indian's previous freedom, although he was placed under no greater physical restraint or social compulsion than many civilized groups today. But to the Indian of that period loss of freedom was a severe blow.[24]

The labor system, in particular, was a constant source of dissatisfaction. Aboriginal Coast Miwok and other Indian groups customarily had undergone extensive physical labor procuring food, preparing shelter, etc., but the thing that all Indians objected to about the mission labor system were the conditions under which it operated. The basis of aboriginal labor was intermittent, rather than regular, in conjunction with need and seasonal food supplies.[25] The mental and bodily exertion demanded by the mission, although it was generally not excessive, was completely new to him. The complex system of rewards and penalties which were associated with the labor system constituted a more serious obstacle to the attempted reorientation of the Indian than more brutal, but comprehensible physical contact. Steady labor of any kind was alien to the Indian's social heritage, but all activities in the missions ran by schedule. At dawn a bell tolled for mass which all attended. After breakfast the Indian went to work. At twelve o'clock was lunch, then work until sunset except for three breaks for prayers.[26]

In addition to the general labor relating to the economy of the mission proper, the military soon recognized and took advantage of the abundance of Indian manpower. "It was a great temptation to the not overly industrious soldiers to tap the great reservoir of substantially free Indian labor."[27] A system, therefore, was soon devised by which the clergy loaned out their charges to the presidios to labor for the military. These services were to be paid for in money or commodities, but the payment went to the missions, not the Indians.[28]

Since most Indians in Central California were not warlike, they retaliated to infringement upon their former liberty by various forms of passive resistance or fugitivism. Louis Choris, a Russian artist, observed at Mission Dolores that he never saw an Indian laugh or look one in the face. "They look as though they are interested in nothing."[29] This attitude carried over to the Indian's required daily work, and he would stall on the job, malinger, invent diverse excuses for not working, and as a last resort, run away from the mission altogether. The missionaries in any of these instances regarded him as indolent, lazy, and oblivious to what was really good for him.[30]

Outside observers of the mission system criticized the tendency to be unyielding and uncompromising to native culture. Mahr in his observations at San Francisco noted many negative policies. He pointed out that the priests were not skilled in practical knowledge or trades which applied to their positions in the New World, commenting that they were "no different than monks in convents in Europe."[31] He was also critical of the fact that the missionaries had no toleration for Indian culture: "they have not troubled themselves with their history, languages, customs or religion." Choris observed that there were "more than fifteen Indian tribes represented in the mission," obvious from varied complexions, stature, language, tattoo markings, etc., but that the Spanish seemed oblivious to the differences.[32]

Paolo Emilio Botta, another contemporary observer, felt that most of the problems of the missions were caused rather by "a bad system of education than by the civilization itself." He observed that

> The Indians were reduced to servitude. They became workslaves for a master, who for the most part treated them with severity, a severity quite distant from the sweetness of the Gospel; and . . . I am persuaded that instead of depriving them immediately of all of their customs and of their natural habits and forcing them to a kind of life in which they only experience its afflictions, without enjoying its advantages, since their labors only benefit the Missionaries, if they had in mind to make them happy men, not merely Christians whose welfare is to be awaited only in the world to come, they would have succeeded in civilizing the Indians and in opening to them the treasures of the mind without bringing harm to the opulation of the land. But for such an undertaking more enlightened men were required than those to be found among Spanish monks.[33]

If the Spanish had been tolerant of native culture they might have realized that their concepts of law were too alien for the Indian to comprehend. Punishment for resistance to mission regulations were in two classifications, "criminal and political." The first applied to derelictions of duties contrary to the welfare of Spanish or mission Indian society. This included crimes such as murder, assault, rape, theft, armed robbery, arson, and sex delinquencies, which were particularly offensive to the Church.[34] Political crimes included offenses against Spanish mission society through failure to conform to its requirements and act in its interest. This included fugitivism, refusal to work, conspiracy to overthrow the existing regime, theft, or destruction of military or mission property and armed opposition to any missionaries, soldiers or civilians.[35]

Punishment of the Indian took several forms. All missions had a "calaboose" and the usual punishment for both criminal and political categories was flogging, although stocks and irons were also used. The sentence was usually carried out by the soldiers, who were themselves severely disciplined, or by other Indians. At San José a slight punishment was fifteen lashes. Any Indian failing to attend his work for two weeks without leave or without a good excuse received fifty lashes. Fighting at the rancherías resulting in bloodshed was punished by one hundred lashes and confinement in the guard house in irons for several weeks. Indians were also punished for absence from mass. Six lashes were punishment for one day's absence, fifteen to twenty for two days to a week.[36] The guilty party was either tied to a post or stretched face downward on the ground near the guard house. His breechclout was removed and his shirt raised. The alcalde or capataz delivered the number of blows ordered by the padre on buttocks or on the back below the shoulders.[37]

At San José a shaman was found secretly leading dances and religious ceremonies in the woods near the mission. A priest had the man "seized, bound, and carried to the mission where he was put in irons, and awarded a novenary of twenty-five lashes . . . every day during nine days, to teach him that he should not practice deviltry, and that it might serve as a warning to others."[38]

For very grave crimes an offender was sometimes subjected to the "ley de Bayona." His head was put in the stocks or a gun was tied to his legs below the knee and his hands tied to the gun, and he was then flogged.[39]

All of these punishments were generally ineffective because they degraded the Indian and inspired the chastized and his friends with an implacable hatred of the mission system.[40]

The growing response to corporal punishment was fugitivism. Therefore, punishment for offenses against the California mission system could be effective only in conjunction with effective pursuit and capture of runaways. Certainty of capture was essential. If an Indian thought that he could commit a misdemeanor in the mission, run away and avoid recapture, any threat of retribution after his return would be meaningless. Throughout most of the mission period the probability of the capture of runaways, therefore, was very high and relatively few fugitives made a permanent escape up until 1834 when the missions were secularized and systematic attempts to pursue and recapture broke down.[41] Capture of the escaped neophytes was also facilitated in the early mission period because fugitives would return to their home territory, generally short distances from the missions.

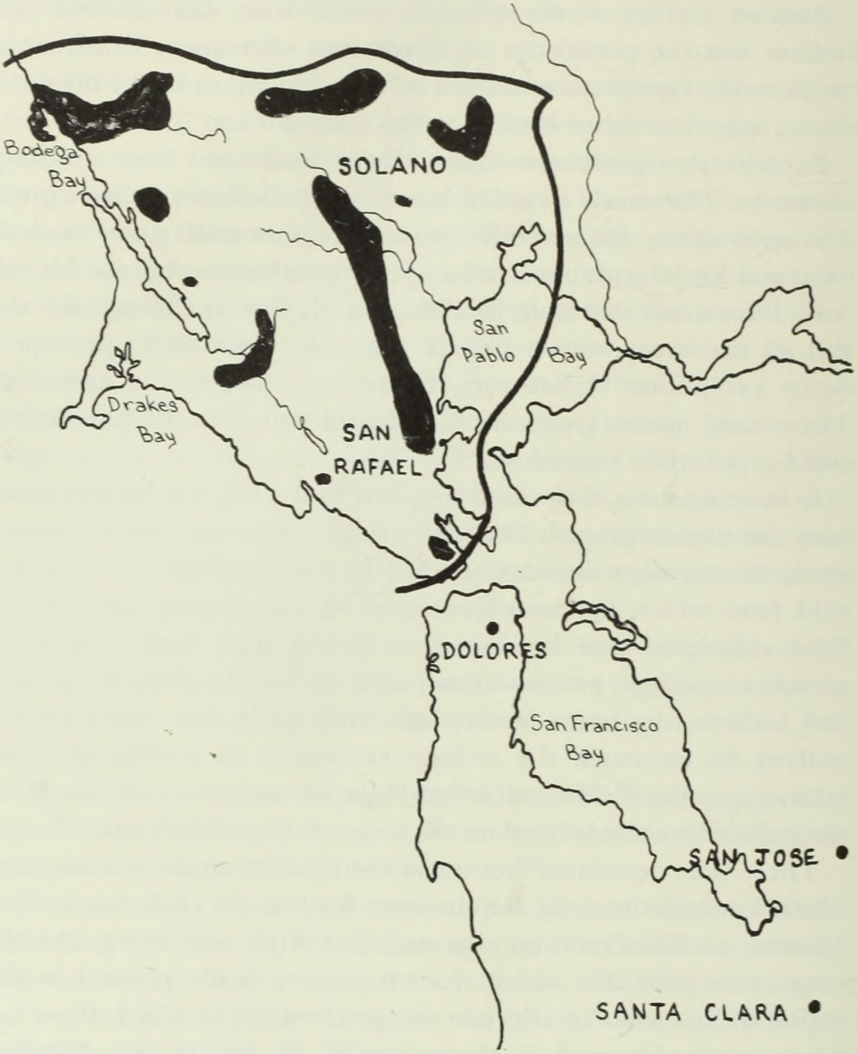
Another feature of the missions which soon disenchanted the Indians was the prevalence of illness and subsequent death from contact with Europeans and their culture. Nutrition in the missions was an important factor leading to this condition.

In their aboriginal state Coast Miwok food came from a variety of sources. They made a kind of bread out of tule bulbs, relied a great deal upon acorns, fish and other sea life and shot small game "such as hares and birds" with bows and arrows. Powers wrote that the Miwok "eat all creatures that swim in the water all that fly through the air, and all that creep, crawl or walk upon the earth, with, perhaps a dozen exceptions."[42] Bancroft claims that, "Before the arrival of [American] miners game was so plentiful that even the lazy natives could supply their necessities."[43]

In contrast most of the food supplied to the mission Indians came from the mission proper. The largest single source was mission-grown grain, then mission livestock and finally, to an undetermined extent, wild food which the neophytes used to supplement their diet.[44] Cook calculated that because of drains through trade, supply to presidios, spoilage, etc., and unequality of rations given to Spanish and Indians, the latter received an inadequate diet. After careful analysis he estimated the Indians consumed an average of 2,320 calories per day.[45] He concluded that this was so inadequate that the Indians as a whole lived on the verge of clinical deficiency.[46]

There were occasional famines at the missions under examination which lowered the daily rations even further. In 1806, the Father-Minister at San Francisco reported that stock was dying and the crops were poor. He added that crops were being planted in the region of San José "to alleviate the great misery in which these unfortunate neophytes find themselves."[47] Father Prefect Mariano Payeras wrote to Governor Solá in 1821 regarding food shortage and hardship upon the neophytes over a period of three or four months.[48]

There were many factors other than poor diet, however, which contributed to the Indians' susceptibility to sickness and disease.


Bodega Bay
SOLANO
San Pablo Bay
Drakes Bay
SAN RAFAEL
DOLORES
San Francisco Bay
SAN JOSE
SANTA CLARA

Source: Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California

Courtesy of the Author

Concentration of Coast Miwok Population during the period of Spanish missionization.

Although epidemics carrying off hundreds or thousands in a short period of time as occurred in Mexico were absent in Upper California, there were periodic semiepidemics.[49] With respect to nonvenereal disease contagion was facilitated by keeping large numbers of Indians in close contact in the notably unsanitary missions. Indian villages were widespread and generally contained no more than one hundred inhabitants. In the missions unmarried men and women were separated and forced to sleep in large rooms or compounds, with little ventilation, no heat or protection from dampness. Hundreds of neophytes were packed closely together providing a breeding ground for disease.[50] In addition to this, sewage was disposed of by dumping it in the most convenient place, often a pond or stream. Because of the concentrated population this became a perfect arrangement for the spread of gastronomical disorders.[51]

Change of climate was also influential in the spread of sickness. The Coast Miwok populated missions in territories which had climatic conditions similar to their home area, but as the Indian populations around the mission declined new converts were brought in from varied geographic and climatic regions. Most of the missions were subject to damp, foggy seashore climate which brought complaints even from Spanish administrators.[52]

Indians taken to the coast from warmer, drier hills and valleys of the interior succumbed to many illnesses during the process of acclimatization and no doubt became a reservoir of diseases which infected Indians already adapted to the environment. The Spanish recognized this fact and repeatedly reported the unhealthy state of the neophytes, particularly with reference to tuberculosis, noting that most serious illnesses coincided with the rainy seasons of late winter and spring.[53] Infection was also transported by Indians being transferred from one mission or presidio to another, or the infection of nonmission Indians by runaways before being captured and returned to the mission.[54]

In addition to the above-mentioned conditions, another great factor in the moral and social disintegration of the Indian population was the spread of syphilis. This disease appeared in Upper California within the first decade of settlement where its prevalence and devastating qualities were unaimously testified to by priest, layman, soldier, and civilian.[55]

From the first, Spanish-Indian contact was characterized by disorderly sexual conduct of soldiers and civilians in respect to Indian women.[56] Priests were even reluctant to send soldiers in pursuit of escaped Indians in the early mission period because of their sexual misbehavior.[57]

By the nineteenth century increase of syphilis was so serious that at San Francisco it was reported that "there are no good Indian boatmen — those who might be available are in great part attacked by syphilis." In the same area it was observed that "Indians are dying of syphilis, many have the lesions, and others have it internally."[58]

The spread of the disease was not retarded by the attitudes of the natives toward sex. Promiscuity was extensive among the Indians although it was frustrated considerably by the zeal of the missionaries. The native attitude was natural, since the aboriginal population, while controlled by definite laws and customs regulating sexual activity, was allowed more freedom than under the Spanish civil code or the code of Christian morals.[59] "It was this liberal and plastic tradition with regard to sex which ran squarely up against one of the most rigid and uncompromising inhibitory codes the world has ever seen."[60]

Another phenomenon in the missions was the prevalence of abortion and infanticide which developed from a sporadic cultural item into a serious, although haphazard, attempt on the part of the Indians to check population growth. It was therefore a form of passive resistance and another outgrowth of the generally bad conditions of disease, unsatisfactory diet and restriction of personal freedom in the missions.[61] A Dutch observer of Mission Dolores reported that "the confinement in which the Indians were kept, and a solitary life, were usually found so irksome that few of them continued long under lock and key; they soon acquiesced in that state of passive obedience which it was the aim of the institution to establish."[62]

Because of all these factors the native populations in the areas of Missions San José, San Francisco, and Santa Clara were so reduced by 1796 that it became standard policy to send private parties and expeditions to "recruit" neophytes from Costonoan and Coast Miwok stocks. This is substantiated by official correspondence and the heavy increase, by several hundred, of baptisms shown in the San Francisco Mission records at this time.[63]

The death rate at the missions continued to rise to a peak in the decade from 1800 to 1810 at the time when the most Coast Miwok were coming into contact with mission life. Annual records during this period show tremendous fluctuations in death rates. During this decade 1,213 Indians were baptized and 1,031 were buried, reflecting no doubt, health conditions, since no other factors, aside from war or natural disasters, of which there were none, could induce such increases.[64] Measles, one of the "periodic semi-epidemics" hit the San Francisco Bay area in 1806. All of the neophytes were hard hit, but the children suffered most. The mean child death rate in 1806 for all the missions was 335 per thousand. In San Francisco alone it was 880, and the population under ten years of age was almost entirely wiped out.[65]

Mahr commented that San Francisco with a population of about 1000 Indians had 300 deaths in 1815. In 1816 the death rate by October was 270, and it was reported that native populations near the missions were becoming "virtually extinct."[66]

At this time several new sites were planned for missions to the north and south of Monterey. Those approved for establishment north of San Francisco were San Francisco Solano and San Rafael in the heart of the Coast Miwok territory. There they would have, as a dual purpose, the formation of a barrier against the encroachment of Spanish territory by Russian settlers from Fort Ross, sixty-five miles northwest of San Francisco, and the provision of fresh Indians for the northern missions.[67]

Solá, fearing panic among the neophytes because of increasing death rates at Mission Dolores, suggested the transfer of part of their numbers to San Rafael the year it was founded, 1817.[68] At first the San Francisco neophytes were given a choice of transferring to the new mission or staying where they were. In spite of the increased death rates, it was difficult to persuade the Coast Miwok, native to the region of Bodega Bay, to go inland to San Rafael, but some of the neophytes at San José readily volunteered for the change because they had been taken from that area originally. It was clear that each Indian, if he could not return to his ancestral home, preferred to live in a region that was most similar to it. This was simply homesickness, an added motivation for fugitivism.[69]

With the opening of San Rafael the missionaries made a clean sweep of the Coast Miwok villages to the shores of the bay and ocean within several years and began to penetrate north to the vicinity of Sebastopal and Santa Rosa. During the same period a considerable number of Coast Miwok were taken to San José to build up its falling population. A few of these who were still alive, were allowed to return to the Sonoma-Solano Mission when it opened in 1823.[70]

The total of Coast Miwok baptisms at the various missions under examination were: San Francisco 896, San Rafael 916, Solano 48, and San José 162, for a sum of 2,020. It will be remembered that the total Coast Miwok population was estimated at 3,000 in aboriginal times. A baptism in any of these four missions usually represented a withdrawal of one person from the native community, since once an Indian entered the mission the greatest attempt was made to keep him there until he died. Therefore, the total baptisms must very closely approximate the total population of the area over a period of forty years. The aboriginal population decreased due to the spread of disease by soldiers and fugitives to the extent that the death rate outran the birth rate. Hence the new converts were being drawn from a diminishing population.

At the end of the Spanish mission period the Coast Miwok had the questionable distinction of being the only tribe north of San Francisco Bay that came under the complete and thorough subjugation of the missions. Their response to Spanish culture, or the lack of response, proves that the Coast Miwok, an exactly adapted people (as were all California Indians) were not well-suited for adjustment to a drastically new culture which demanded severe sacrifice of old beliefs. It also shows that the California mission system, with its unyielding rules and lack of tolerance for the intricacies of Indian culture, helped to destroy the very natives to whose salvation it was dedicated.

## NOTES

1. A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Berkeley: California Book Company, Ltd., 1953), pp. 272, 442. Hereinafter cited as Kroeber, *Handbook.*

Kroeber states that the Penutian Miwok living at Clear Lake and along the Coast north of Golden Gate were "ancient emigrants of enterprise toward the West, or remnants of a once wider distribution of the group." He adds that the geographical separation and difference in language was considerable, but not exceptional between the Coast and the Interior. This is possibly a very significant point in the history of the later mission period. If Interior Miwok were able to communicate orally with the Coast Miwok and learn from them the intricacies of the mission system, it may explain why they put up such a strong resistance to the Spanish compared to other tribes in the area. This is a point which deserves investigation.

2. S. A. Barrett, "The Ethno-geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology,* Vol. 6, No. 1 (1908), p. 302. Hereinafter cited as Barrett, "Pomo." Kroeber in *Handbook,* pp. 273-74, points out that Marín County is bordered by a diversified coast line. Temperature and wildlife must have been unusually favorable for occupation and food supply. Most of the Coast Miwok villages were located near estuaries. The narrator of Drake's voyage made reference to a settlement about three-quarters of a mile from the landing point. Bolinas Bay had one village at least. South of Bolinas Bay to beyond the Golden Gate, cliffs made the shore uninhabitable, but Sausalito and the shores of Richardson Bay near San Francisco Bay were inhabited, as were the shores adjacent to San Rafael. There were several settlements in the vicinity of Ignacio and Novato. On San Antonio Creek, to the east, was the village of Olompali and its outposts. A number of little towns were also located on Petaluma Creek. Petaluma and Likatiut were possibly the most significant.

Sonoma Valley was occupied by southwestern Wintun as well as Coast Miwok. Tchokoyem or Chocuyen was the term used to designate the Coast Miwok in Sonoma Valley. Its origin is unknown, but other tribal groups were designated by village names: Timbalakees, Petalumas or Yolhios, Olompalies, Tamalanos or Tumalehnias, Baulines, and Oleomi.

3. Robert F. Heizer, "Archaeological Evidence of Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño's California Visit in 1595," 1942 reprint from California Historical Society *Quarterly,* XX (December, 1941), 6.

4. *Ibid.* Kroeber, *Handbook,* p. 276, quotes from Sir Francis Drake's descriptions of the natives of "Nova Albion." The following breakdown of the Drake material illustrates Coast Miwok aboriginal traits in more detail:

(a) Dwellings: typical semisubterranean structures of north central California:

"Their Houses, which are dug round into the Earth, and have from the Surface of the ground, Poles of Wood set up and joined together at the top like a spired Steeple, which being covered with Earth, no Wether can enter, and are very warm, the Door being also the Chimney to let out the Smoak, which are made sloping like the Scuttle of a Ship: Their Beds are on the hard Ground strewed with Rushes, with a Fire in the midst round which they lye and the roof being low round and close, gives a very great Reflection of heat to their Bodies."

(b) Dress:

"The Men generally go naked, but the Women combing out Bulrushes, make with them a loose Garment, which ty'd round their middle, hangs down about their Hipps: and hides what Nature would have concealed: They wear likewise about their Shoulders a Deer skin with the Hair theron. The Common People, almost naked, whose long Hair tied up in a Bunch behind, was stuck with Plumes of Feathers, but in the forepart only one Feather like a Hord." The "King" had "on his Head a Knit work Cawl" (the net cap of central California), "wrought somewhat like a Crown, and on his Shoulders a Coat of Rabbit Skins reaching to his Waste," a typical woven fur blanket.

(c) Money:

"The money of central California is . . . unmistakable, although the shell was taken to be bone, and the half mediaeval imagination of English enacted sumptuary regulations of which the Indians were certainly ignorant."

(d) Weapons:

"Their Bows and Arrows (which are their only Weapons, and almost all their Wealth) they use very skillfully, yet without much Execution, they being fitter for Children than Men. . . ."

5. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

10. Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927), pp. 234-35.

11. Barrett, "Pomo," p. 38.

12. George Wharton James, ed., *Francisco Palou's Life and Apostolic Labors of the Venerable Father Junipero Serra Founder of the Franciscan Missions of California* (Pasadena: James Wharton James, 1913), p. 131. Hereinafter cited as Palou, *Serra.*

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 196-97.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201.

15. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Native Races: Wild Tribes,* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1883), I, 365-66. Hereafter cited as Bancroft, *Tribes.* Bancroft describes all Central California Indians in a very general manner. The contradictions and prejudices referred to are quoted from contemporary observations:

"At Bodega Bay 'they are an ugly and brutish race, many with negro profiles.' " "They are physically an inferior race, and have flat, unmeaning features, long, coarse, straight black hair, big mouths, and very dark skins." "They were in general fine stout men." "... none of the men we saw were above five feet high ... ill-proportioned ... we had never seen a less pleasing specimen of the human race." "... the men are almost all rather above the middling stature, and well built; very few indeed are what may be called undersized ... Some of the women were more than five feet six inches in height." "Their color is a dirty yellowish-brown." "... Their complexion is a dark mahogany, or often nearly black. ..."

16. S. F. Cook, "The Aboriginal Population of the North Coast of California," *Anthropological Records,* Vol. 16, No. 3 (1956), p. 121. Hereinafter cited as Cook, "Population." Cook states, "Identification of the Coast Miwok can be made in most of the records (1) by the year and the location (e.g., the year 1817 at San Rafael); (2) by village names identical with or similar to those listed by Barrett and by Kroeber; (3) by linguistic affinities (such as the prefix *echa-* or the suffix-*tamal*); and (4) by subsidiary notes in the records indicating geographical location."

17. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral, 1769-1848* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1888), pp. 151-52, 161, 167. Hereinafter cited as, Bancroft, *Pastoral.*

18. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California, 1542-1800* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1884), I, 209. Hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *Calif.* I.

19. *Ibid.* I, 436.

20. Bancroft, *Pastoral,* pp. 151-60.

21. *Ibid.,* pp. 228-29. A great deal of attention was given to instilling the teachings of the Church in young children, who, according to Bancroft, "became indeed children of the church."

22. Palou, *Serra,* p. 213.

23. "Padrón" San Carlos, Dec. 22, 1781, State Papers, Ben. Mil. 3:27, quoted in Cook, "Conflict," p. 58.

24. Bancroft, *Pastoral,* p. 241.

25. Bancroft, *Calif.* I, p. 376.

26. Bancroft, *Pastoral,* pp. 232-36.

27. Cook, "Conflict," p. 95. Bancroft in *Calif.* I, p. 700, states that in 1794, Indians were recruited to make adobes to fortify the presidio at San Francisco. The padre attempted to obtain an extra blanket and pair of breeches for each laborer per month as payment but failed. In April of that year twenty-two Indians ran away.

28. A. C. Mahr, *The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1932), p. 95. Hereinafter cited as Mahr, *Rurik.* Hubert Howe Bancroft in *History of California, 1801-1824* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1885), hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *Calif.* II,

relates that Fort San Joaquin in San Francisco, in a deplorable condition because of storms, was fortified in 1805, by stone walls built by "Indian captives without cost to the king."

29. *Ibid.*, p. 99. Bancroft, however, in *Calif.* II, 34-35, notes armed resistance against the padres at San José and tells of a suspected plot to burn mission Santa Clara.

30. Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (Santa Barbara: Mission Santa Barbara, 1938), II, 298.

31. Mahr, *Rurik,* p. 83. Bancroft, *Pastoral,* p. 225, refers to the use of sheepskin folios especially adapted for teaching Latin hymns to the neophytes.

32. *Ibid.* Bancroft notes in *Calif.* I, 589, that it was government policy and the duty of the friars to introduce the Spanish language in place of the vernacular, "thus fitting the natives for future citizenship."

33. Paolo Emilio Botta, *Observations on the Inhabitants of California,* 1827-1828 (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1952), p. 13. Frederick William Beechey, who wrote very favorably of the relations between the padres and neophytes at San Francisco in 1827, nevertheless, stated, "It is greatly to be regretted that . . . the priests do not interest themselves a little more in the education of their converts."

34. Bancroft, *Pastoral,* p. 213.

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.,* p. 215.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 232, 237. Bancroft reports that those who absented themselves from morning or evening prayers were given the choice of a flogging with a raw-hide whip or hazel twigs. A mother who allowed a child to die from neglect was forced to carry a wooden block for as long as the child would have been carried had it lived.

38. *Ibid.,* p. 215.

39. *Ibid.,* p. 237.

40. Cook, "Conflict," p. 122.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 134. At San José, Bancroft notes in *Pastoral,* p. 291, order was kept easily because so many Indians were of different tribes that someone would always report any misdemeanors or conspiracies to the priests.

42. Bancroft, *Tribes,* p. 376. Kroeber, *Handbook,* pp. 273-74, states that the Miwok evidently preferred to live in the open near the coast to be near the supply of "mussels, clams, fish, and water fowl." They would occasionally visit the hills to hunt, but mollusks evidently were a more dependable diet than wild game.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Cook, "Conflict," pp. 33-35.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

47. Cabot to Solá, San Francisco, Oct. 30, 1819, Archbishop's Archives, 3:116, quoted in Cook, "Conflict," p. 53.

48. Payeras to Solá, San Francisco, Aug. 5, 1821, Archbishop's Archives, 4:76, quoted in Cook, "Conflict," p. 54.

49. Palou, *Serra*, p. 213. As early as 1777 there was an epidemic at Santa Clara. Palou wrote: "By the month of May of the same year the first baptisms took place, for as there had come upon the people a great epidemic, the Fathers were able to perform a great many baptisms by simply going through the villages. In this way they succeeded in sending a great many children (which died almost as soon as they were baptized) to Heaven as the first fruits that they might ask God the conversion of their relatives and tribesmen."

50. Bancroft, *Calif.* I, p. 722. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, pp. 231-22, reports that bachelors were locked in at night by the alcalde who gave the padre the key. Young women were kept in a *monjerio* from the age of seven or nine until they married. A married Indian woman called the *madre abadesa* had charge of the *monjerio.* Roll was called at the door as the girls went in at night. The door was then locked and the padre given the key. Any girl who was missing at roll call was locked in the *monjerio* during the day, and her mother was punished for allowing her to be absent.

51. Cook, "Conflict," pp. 31-33.

52. Bancroft, *Calif.* I, p. 472, 714.

53. Cook, "Conflict," p. 31.

54. *Ibid.* Bancroft in *Calif.* I, p. 542, writes that at San Francisco in the 1790's "Indians were harangued on the horrors of an English invasion," and Bancroft in *History of California, 1840-1845* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1886), p. 73, reveals that in at least one instance Indians were told that epidemics were spread south from English and Russians settlements north of Bodega Bay.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

56. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, p. 405.

57. Bancroft, *Calif.* I, p. 483.

58. Abella to Argüello, San Francisco, Sept. 30, 1815, Archbishop's Archives, 2:102, quoted in Cook, "Conflict," pp. 26-27.

59. Cook, "Conflict," p. 30.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

61. Bancroft, *Pastoral*, p. 217. Also see Cook, "Conflict," p. 104.

62. *Ibid.*

63. Cook, "Conflict," p. 75.

64. Bancroft, *Calif.* I, 713.

65. Cook, "Conflict," p. 18. Bancroft adds in Calif. II, p. 131, that during this epidemic 236 neophytes died in three months at San Francisco.

66. Mahr, *Rurik,* pp. 81-82.

67. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California,* (San Francisco: N. J. Stone & Company, 1898) I, 495-99. Hittell writes that, "San Rafael offered some, but a very weak, barrier to the Russians," and that "From the beginning it was rather a military than a religious establishment. . . ."

68. Bancroft, *Calif.* II, 329, 374. By 1820 the death rate at Dolores was nearly seventy-five per cent of the neophyte population.

69. *Ibid.,* p. 504.

70. Cook, "Population," p. 121.

*The Mexican American: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography.* By The Center for Latin American Studies, Stanford University. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969. 139 pp. $1.80, paper.) Reviewed by Kaye Briegel.

Since August 1965, and especially since March 1968, there has been a rush among scholars and educators to affirm the existence of people of Mexican descent in the United States. There have been many books, articles, courses, departments, teachers and experts created to explain the history, culture and influence of Mexican Americans on the larger society. Stanford University's bibliography is both a contribution to this rush and a catalog of recently published books and articles which are a part of it.

The Center for Latin American Studies at Stanford, under the direction of John J. Johnson, has assembled this bibliography. Professor Johnson is not especially noted for his work on Mexico or the Southwest. The actual work, however, seems to have been done by several graduate students. The project was financed by a grant from the United States Office of Education.

The primary assets of Stanford's bibliography are its annotations. They describe the subject and major conclusions of the works cited. These annotations, however, are less than critical. It seems that no biased or stereotyped works were selected for inclusion. Works of historical value also are often described as "dated."

Although this bibliography, according to the Preface, "focuses upon the contemporary interests and concerns of the Mexican-American community," it also claims to do "justice . . . to contributions of an earlier generation of scholars and publicists in the field of Mexican-American studies." Certainly Emory Bogardus, one of the pioneers in the study of Mexican-Americans, did not receive justice in one extended annotation. His work on repatriation in the 1930's, for example, remains the only available source and it is ignored by Stanford. Another scholar, O. Douglas Weeks, who has published studies of Mexican-Americans in Texas politics and the only study of a Mexican-American organization ever in a scholarly journal, is similarly slighted.

The contemporary interests and concerns of the Mexican-American community also seem somewhat slighted. Only two articles from Mexican-American publications are cited and they are both from *El Grito.* The remainder of the Chicano Press Association, along with more traditional Mexican-American publications, are absent. The Index, in addition, only includes five citations after "Chicano Movement."

This bibliography was prepared, again according to the Preface, because "no annotated guide to outstanding printed works on the Mexican-American has been published recently." It acknowledges, however, the existence of two other, much more detailed bibliographies: Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report 3, *Revised Bibliography* (UCLA, 1967) and Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs, *A Guide to Materials Relating to Persons of Mexican Heritage in the United States* (Wash. D.C., 1969); the second was published just eight months earlier than Stanford's. Both of these also include government publications, unpublished studies and other useful sources not listed by Stanford.

Yet the Preface again specifies that Stanford's bibliography is intended for the specialist as well as the "informed layman." Its use to a specialist, in light of these other two works, is unclear. It seems really designed for those with little background who are just beginning to investigate Mexican-Americans largely in the current literature — perhaps like those who prepared this bibliography.

Kaye Briegel is an instructor in Mexican-American history at Los Angeles Trade-Technical College.

*The Costansó Narrative of the Portolá Expedition*. Translated and Edited by Ray Brandes. (Newhall: The Hogarth Press, 1970. 112 pp. $15.00.) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

The bicentennial of the founding of Alta California has prompted the publication of many works relative to the Spanish advance to the area in the eighteenth century. Dr. Ray Brandes has produced a new edition of the *Diario Histórico* of Engineer Miguel Costansó as a part of this bicentennial literature.

The author of the *Diario Histórico* was a major figure in the initial exploration and establishment of Alta California in the years 1769-1770 and, as a cartographer, civil and military engineer, one of the few professional men involved. On 14 July 1769, in the company of Gaspar de Portolá, Costansó left San Diego in search of Monterey Bay. He was, then, among the first Europeans to traverse a large part of California by land and was attendant at the discovery of San Francisco Bay. After his return to San Diego in January, 1770, Costansó again prepared to explore northward, and in April of that year accompanied Fray Junípero Serra on an expedition to establish the mission and presidio at Monterey. Returning to New Spain in July, 1770, aboard the *San Antonio*, Costansó became involved in the preparation of plans for other fortifications and public works, including modifications to the drainage works of the city of Mexico, built by another cartographer of California, Enrico Martínez, in 1607.

Also upon his return to Mexico, Costansó wrote his *Diario Histórico*, dated 24 October 1770. This now rare imprint gives a short history of the advance on California as planned by José de Gálvez, detailed descriptions of *flora* and *fauna* encountered on the Portolá expedition, and ethnological observations with particular attention to the Chumash of the Santa Barbara Channel. As an engineer, Costansó reflects little excitement over the discovery of San Francisco Bay ("an immense estuary") but describes Monterey and the projected mission and presidio with enthusiasm.

This new edition of the *Diario Histórico* is preceded by an Introduction dealing with Costansó and the printing history of his work. Lacking are citations to the great bibliographies of Nicolás León (he cites a 1792 German edition) and Henry R. Wagner, and several inaccuracies are apparent including the citation of this reviewer as an earlier editor of the *Diario Histórico* (my thanks just the same).

The Introduction is followed by a very nice facsimile of the original work and a readable narrative English translation. Although some possible improvements could be made in the translation, these are minor items in light of the major shortcoming to this section, an absence of annotations to correct Costansó's inaccuracies and to provide additional geographical and biographical data. Annotations do appear as a separate section following the translation but are of a bibliographical nature. While this bibliography is up-to-date and rather comprehensive, citations to Spanish archival sources are vague and garbled, and several other inaccuracies such as the lack of a citation to Fr. Ernest Burrus' extensive work on Rivera y Moncada and the attributing of a work on San Blas to this reviewer.

Physically, by far the best part of this book is the facsimile of the original *Diario Histórico*. The number of typographical errors, particularly in Spanish, is extremely high and a makeshift accent and tilde detracts further from the esthetic qualities of the book. While this latter aspect makes the price of this book excessive, in light of the high cost of earlier out-of-print editions, it is relatively low and this new edition is more up-to-date.

W. MICHAEL MATHES, author of *Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean 1580-1630*, is associate professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

*The City of the Plain: Sacramento in the Nineteenth Century*. By V. Aubrey Neasham and James E. Henley. Janice A. Woodruff, editor. (Sacramento, California: The Sacramento Pioneer Foundation in cooperation with The Sacramento Historic Landmarks Commission, 1969. 230 pp. $25.00.) Reviewed by John A. Hussey.

Capital of the nation's most populous state, center of one of California's most rapidly growing urban areas, and site of one of the country's most imaginative and successful inner core renewal projects, Sacramento is today recognized throughout the land for what it is — a dynamic and important city. Not so well known is the fact that from the last years of Mexican rule through the end of the nineteenth century, Sacramento had a significance and influence far in excess of what might have been expected from the size of her population.

Sutter's Fort, on the site of the future city, was the rallying point for American settlers against what some of them chose to term Mexican "oppression." From here the Gold Rush was set in motion. Sacramento was the great distributing point for supplies and men to the northern mines, and later it was the agricultural and commercial depot for the Central Valley and Sierra. Here the Central Pacific was conceived and the first tracks of the transcontinental railroad laid. Sacramento was the terminus of one of the world's first long distance hydroelectric power transmission lines, and it was the proud possessor of the first private art gallery west of the Mississippi River.

This sweeping, dynamic story of the earlier Sacramento is the main theme of *The City of the Plain*. The text, brief and graceful, traces the flow of events, chronicling the triumphs and the seemingly even more frequent disasters, but always maintaining a broad historical perspective. The burden of the story, however, is borne by the 375 superb illustrations which make up the bulk of the book, for *The City of the Plain* is a pictorial history. Literally thousands of woodcuts, drawings, paintings, lithographs, and photographs were examined by the authors and editor, and those so skillfully selected for reproduction almost by themselves tell Sacramento's saga. Many of them are published for the first time in this book.

As the reader turns the pages and studies the pictures, he becomes aware that the work has a second and broader theme and that it carries a forceful message. He notes that in the brief span of about fifty years life for the people of Sacramento, as for those over much of the world, changed from the simple to the complex, from the pastoral to the industrial. The quaint scene of a bonnetted woman bringing a lunch basket to three miners working their claim with pick and shovel contrasts strongly with the later photograph of a steam coal bucket designed to replace hand labor and with the 1890's view of the Folsom Power House. One feels sure it was no accident that the last picture in the book shows a turn-of-the-century automobile whisking along a rural road near Sacramento, for as the authors clearly point out, the past "constituted, in many ways, a prologue of what the city has become today."

This handsome and sensibly sized volume, designed and printed by Lawton and Alfred Kennedy, is a joy to own simply as an example of the bookmaker's art. Four of the illustrations are reproduced in color, and many others are in duotone. But the true reward of possessing *The City of the Plain* comes from the opportunity to pore time and time again over its pages until you can smell the dust of J Street and hear the clanging bell as the *Governor Stanford* pulls into the Central Pacific depot on Front Street. With the nostalgic odor and the clamor comes the realization that as man struggles to improve his lot he loses something in the process — and will, perhaps, lose everything. Thus, in this outstanding book, does local history illuminate the story of the world.

JOHN S. HUSSEY is a foremost authority and author on the Central California area and on the Gold Rush period.

*Scientists in Conflict: The Beginnings of the Oil Industry in California.* By Gerald T. White. (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1968. 272 pp. $8.00.) Reviewed by W. H. Hutchinson.

Two towering peaks in the High Sierra commemorate the California sojourns of the central figures in this latest work by the state's leading authority on its petroleum developments. Josiah D. Whitney and Benjamin Silliman, Jr., loomed large during the age of versatility in American science; both contributed to the fruitful marriage of technology and natural resources that marked the latter portion of the nineteenth century. Most importantly, both men were involved in the first major invasion of California by outside investment capital, and from this stemmed their conflict.

Silliman's optimistic reports to his commercial clients in the east, reports that heralded an almost fabulous wealth to be gained from California's petroleum resources, played a major part in triggering the state's first oil boom, 1864-1867. To Whitney, these reports threatened the life of the California Geological Survey, which he headed, and thus Whitney's professional eminence and financial well being. Too, Whitney regarded Silliman's actions as a threat to science in general, and as a blot upon the escutcheon of Yale College. In his self-view, Whitney was the Vestal Virgin at the shrine of "pure" science, while Silliman was the defiler of the temple. As a result, Whitney launched a campaign against Silliman which can with propriety be termed the most rabid scientific and academic vendetta of its time.

It is this conflict that provides the strand upon which the author has strung his beads of solid data to form a necklace of symmetry and substance. Its sparkle comes from a dry and deliciously ironic sense of the human frailties of both men. Its symmetry is shaped by a strong narrative flow. Its substance derives from meticulous attention to the scholarly responsibilities of the historian's art. The result is a most valuable contribution to our understanding of the development of California and the contiguous mining west, for which Professor White deserves great thanks and many readers.

W. H. Hutchinson is the author of *Oil, Land, and Politics* (1965) and is Professor of History at Chico State College.

*Oregon Imprints, 1845-1870*. By George N. Belknap. (Eugene: University of Oregon Books, [1968]. $10.00.) Reviewed by Edwin H. Carpenter.

A checklist of imprints (*i.e.,* items printed in a given area in a given period) is so specialized that one would not expect to find it reviewed in a general historical journal, but occasionally one is published which transcends its primarily bibliographical nature and becomes a tool of interest and value to the student of history. The most recent of these is *Oregon Imprints, 1845-1870,* by George N. Belknap of the University of Oregon. In printing and bookbinding specifically, and in many general ways, there were close links between early Oregon and California, and the content of this well-done volume should prove of interest to the reader and collector of Californiana.

The principal earlier work on this subject was done by a major American student of printing history, Douglas C. McMurtrie. For many years Mr. Belknap has been revising and expanding McMurtrie's list, to the point that he has created a new work, nearly treble the size of its predecessor. In addition to the very large number of added entries, this work combs out some erroneous entries in McMurtrie. Inevitably there are still a few obscure items that will turn up, and perhaps a few minor errors in Belknap to correct, but surely the major work has now been done on Oregon imprints of the first quarter century of printing in that state. There are over fifteen hundred entries.

Since this is a general journal rather than one interested in bibliography as such, I shall not go into detail about coverage, form of entry, and other facets which would interest the bibliographer wanting to evaluate a new imprint checklist. Suffice it to say that as far as I can judge all these things are well executed and well presented, in an intelligible system. The arrangement — as usual in such bibliographies — is chronological, but there are excellent indexes to allow other approaches; more about them later.

What is there, then, for the student of history? Much of interest. It is true that a very large portion of the listings are for laws, government reports, minutes of religious bodies, political speeches, military orders, documents of fraternal orders, and similar productions which seem likely to be rather dull. No doubt many of them are, but early Oregon was such a lively place, and this was a period of concern with such large problems as slavery, Indian relations, etc., that even the most innocuous-seeming reports, speeches, and proceedings may contain some very interesting and significant reading. In this book we do not get the texts of these items, of course, but Belknap is so generous with annotations and quotations that one can just dip into the work here and there and find much to intrigue and delight. The politics of the day and the place were uninhibited, and there are some pretty lurid blasts and counterblasts. Even several of the military documents transcend the routine. And, of course, there are some — admittedly rather feeble — belles lettres, including the earliest published works of Joaquin Miller.

The compiler is that rare scholar who can tweak his own nose. For instance, in the annotation to item 823 he points out how slow-witted he was in not recognizing the satirical nature of a political broadside about General Henry W. Halleck when he first recorded it in an earlier publication; and in the annotation to item 1059 he blames himself for an inaccurate description supplied to another historian. The only error I noted which I shall mention is the conversion of San Francisco's charming Helen Giffen into "Griffin" (p. 131).

Lists of this nature are usually of most use to people concerned with printing history and bibliographical matters, since even if the annotations are fairly full the topics involved are buried in the mass. Belknap has done his best to offset this with a detailed index which includes many entries for general topics, such as "aliens," "divorce," "horses," "photography," "nurseries," "stages," and so on; he even tells the user which items are satirical, surely a new high in indexing. Thus people working on many aspects of the history of the early West can turn to Belknap to find what was published in Oregon in the period. My only regret here is that such fine indexing does not cover the appendix of unlocated imprints, as in that section there are items of interest to the student of, for example, pyrotechnics.

As I have indicated, even casual browsing will soon turn up such a tidbit as the 1861 broadside (item 618) issued by the citizens of Salem "in Indignation Meeting assembled" to warn the people of southern Oregon and California against an itinerant lecturer on phrenology and related topics who, they said, had seduced a Salem woman.

Edwin H. Carpenter, doctoral degree recipient from UCLA, is a distinguished bibliographer and collector of Western Americana.

*Hamlin Garland's Diaries.* Ed. by Donald Pizer. (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1968. 296 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by John W. Nichol.

A large portion of the forty-three volume diary which Hamlin Garland kept from age thirty-seven to age eighty had already been published before Donald Pizer and the Huntington Library, where it is deposited, got around to the task of the present book. Garland himself was the earlier editor, having mined and used the vast assortment of material for his own seven autobiographical books — *A Son of the Middle Border* (1917), *A Daughter of the Middle Border* (1928), *Back Trailers from the Middle Border* (1928), *Roadside Meetings* (1930), *Companions on the Trail* (1931), *My Friendly Contemporaries* (1932), and *Afternoon Neighbors* (1934). What Mr. Pizer has done for us is to corral the unused material, sort it into significant thematic piles, and put it together so that we have, in effect, the basis for seven or eight more autobiographical books that Garland himself might have written, given the time and inclination.

*Hamlin Garland's Diaries* may be useful to future Garland scholars (serious researchers will still have to consult the original diaries since Pizer does not indicate how much unpublished material he decided to omit and for what periods and reasons it was omitted); but the greatest value of the collection will be for the general intelligent reader and student of American life from 1900 to 1940. Hamlin Garland was an astute observer of everything that went on around him; he had developed an interesting and excellent style for setting down these observations; and he was part and parcel of America itself during these momentous years, reflecting both its strengths and its incriminating weaknesses and prejudices.

Since Garland had used rather fully the earlier parts of his diary, the preponderance of entries in the present collection come from the last twenty years of his life between the ages of sixty and eighty. Although for California readers there is some advantage in this as it gives us valuable and personal insights into the decades of the twenties and thirties in Los Angeles and Hollywood, there is still a pervading and reactionary gloom hovering over the comments of an old man living through an age of change and depression. Indeed, one of the most remarkable sections of the book is the unflinching self-portrait Garland gives us of an aging man facing the loss of reputation and physical faculties. He at least has not joined those other writers who, he observed, "make no record of their growing lethargy of mind and body" (p. 71).

Beautifully written descriptions of his own first automobile ride (thirty-two miles in four hours), of his first sight of a heavier-than-air craft leaving the ground, of his meetings with the dying octogenarian officers of the American Academy of Arts and Letters, of his fears that both pornography and the Jews were taking over America, of his own evaluation of more than a hundred eminent personalities, events, and places of the time — all these and more make for fascinating reading as well as valuable source material for American studies.

The combination of Hamlin Garland, Donald Pizer, and the Huntington Library has been a felicitous one, producing for us another worthwhile, well-edited text of Americana.

John W. Nichol is an associate professor of English at the University of Southern California.

*Vizcaíno and Spanish Expansion in the Pacific Ocean, 1580-1630.* By W. Michael Mathes. (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968. 186 pp. $12.00.) Reviewed by Francis F. Guest.

This historical study, precise, thorough, and abundantly documented, presents a much-needed re-evaluation of Sebastián Vizcaíno. The author, W. Michael Mathes, is a professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

After Drake's circumnavigation of the globe, the Spanish government sought a port of call for the Manila Galleon on its way to Acapulco. Seamen aboard the galleon suffered from insufficient food, illness, and exhaustion on the long voyage from Manila up along the coast of Japan, across the North Pacific, and down the coast of California to New Spain. A mid-way anchorage would have been a welcome relief to the beleaguered mariners. Besides, there was danger from hostile vessels that might invade the North Pacific. And there was fear that England, or another foreign power, might discover the Northwest Passage before Spain did.

If a port of call were to be discovered along California shores, the entire coastline would have to be explored and accurately charted. This mighty task, not as yet adequately performed by previous voyagers, fell to Sebastián Vizcaíno, a capable man of wide experience who had served in the Spanish army, had spent three years as a merchant in Manila, and had led an expedition of three vessels in an effort to explore the Gulf of California. Vizcaíno's voyage of exploration up the outer coast of California, 1602-03, was not followed up by the Spanish government with an immediate effort to colonize Monterey. His later attempt to win for Spain a commercial foothold in Japan was a failure. And Spain ultimately abandoned hope of establishing a port of call for the Manila Galleon on the coast of California. But Vizcaíno, notwithstanding all this, was a man of great historical significance. The reports of his voyage in the Gulf of California, of immense value to later explorers, made him the real founder of pearl fishing in that area. The logs and maps of his voyage up the coast of the North Pacific were of great importance to Spanish skippers when, in 1769, Spain decided upon expansion into Alta California. Vizcaíno's cartography provided the information upon which the success of the sacred expedition of 1769, in no small measure, depended. Although Vizcaíno has been criticized and compared unfavorably with Rodríguez Cabrillo, Mathes presents an able defense of the great explorer, ranking him "with Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Juan de Oñate in New Mexico, and Hernando de Soto in the Mississippi Valley as one of the great early figures of the northern borderlands of New Spain."

This book is a study, not a biography. It concentrates on the career of Vizcaíno as navigator and diplomat. Learned footnotes provide copious information on matters of detail and dispute. Much of the documentation cited is new. Over thirty maps by Enrico Martínez, one of Vizcaíno's cartographers, outline significant points along the California coast, e.g., San Diego Bay, the Santa Barbara Channel, Monterey Bay, Cape Mendocino, etc. And the text, brief and compressed though it is, presents a political and commercial setting in which the figure of Vizcaíno can be seen in clear historical perspective.

Fr. Francis Guest, O.F.M., obtained his Ph.D. degree in history from the University of Southern California where he was a visiting professor in 1968-1969. Currently, Dr. Guest is director of the Academy of American Franciscan History in Washington, D.C.

*Frontier Settlement in Mexican California.* By C. Alan Hutchinson. (New Haven and London; The Yale University Press, 1969. 457 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Austin N. Leiby.

A primary responsibility of the historian is to clarify. Professor Hutchinson has clarified the muddled situation surrounding frontier settlement in California during the late Mexican Period; but, more than that, he has opened other vistas for historical contemplation through presentation of new, or relatively little-known, information. This is done in a singular manner, with the view of one observing developments from a vantage-point in Mexico. This lends a very real note of impartiality to the study. Insertion of new data and information is done unobtrusively, easily, without disrupting the chain of previously-known historical events. The result is a truly professional study of significant value.

After gaining independence in 1821, Mexico evaluated previous Spanish efforts to strengthen and protect the northern frontier, in particular her California territory which was endangered by a Russian presence. The cession of rights on the coast above 42° by Spain to the U.S.A. in 1819, and rumored Russian-Spanish discussions about the status of northern California territories, increased Mexican concern. The basic problem facing Mexicans was the same as that which had perplexed Spanish planners: right of ownership in a rapidly changing world truly depended on physical possession. Mexico had been saddled with the previous Spanish burden: law and custom seemed to preclude extensive private ownership of California land, while apparently encouraging colonial settlement. This situation had arisen out of Spanish concern to protect the land rights of the native races. Mexican liberal philosophy rejected the situation as ridiculous ambiguity — while at the same time retaining a sincere desire to protect Indian rights. Further complicating the problem was a strong desire on the part of non-Indian residents of the northern California territory to gain legal title to lands in their possession — and to choice lands which were held in trust for the Indians by the mission system.

The mission system had accomplished its secondary goal, but had badly faulted in its primary purpose. It had made the vast mission properties, worked by Indian labor in practical bondage, into the very mainstay of the territorial economy — providing basic needs for government, military, and public at large. But, it had not managed to educate the Indian, to make him self-supporting, nor to change his attitude sufficiently enough so that he would desire to be an independent person and a tax-paying citizen. Thus the Spanish gamble came to naught — the gamble to "populate" the northern territories with "revitalized" and "civilized" native races loyal to Spain — and the Mexican problem became even more complex. For, if legal ownership was to be established by physical possession, Mexico would have to both furnish colonists from a hard-pressed economy at home *and* disrupt the stable economic situation which discouraged private ownership necessary for successful colonization.

Professor Hutchinson describes the processes by which the Mexican government, in mid-1834 under Valentín Gómez-Farías, decided to risk disruption of the territorial economy and the active opposition of territorial residents. A large group of native Mexicans, to be financed by the confiscated Pious Fund, was organized and dispatched to colonize the Russian-threatened frontier area of northern California. The Farías Colonization Plan, placed under the civil direction of Jalisco politico José María Hijar and under the military direction of Colonel of Engineers José María Padrés, had other goals: to separate the civil from the military functions and offices of the territory, to bring the territorial governmental machinery back under the nominal control of the central Mexican government, and to speed up the general mission secularization process which had been ordered implemented the previous year.

None of these goals were achieved. Governor José Figueroa subverted the plan to separate civil from military affairs, blocked the Farías' mission-secularization plan and instead continued a local plan which eventually led to American penetration, and maintained the precarious balance-of-suspicion between the Territorial and the central Mexican governments which effectively prevented cooperative efforts.

Professor Hutchinson's data clearly questions Figueroa's land deals, Gómez-Farías' real intentions, and both Hijar's and Padrés' qualifications to deal with a person of Figueroa's complex character. These were the three key ingredients which led to failure of the Farías' colonization plan, and which helped to pave the way for eventual American conquest. Governor Figueroa emerges in a different light than that previously shed upon him — one which may cause a more detailed study to be made of his life and effect on California history.

Austin N. Leiby, presently completing dissertation research in the archives of Spain, is a Research Assistant in History at the University of New Mexico. Mr. Leiby, a long-time student of history, has lived in Mexico, Spain, and the Southwest for prolonged periods.

*California: An Illustrated History.* By Don E. Fehrenbacher and Norman E. Tutorow. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1968. 184 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by John A. Schutz.

Included with these photographs of California's past is a crisp narrative that recounts many of the state's most memorable events and gives some incidental meaning to the illustrations. The selection of photographs is well mixed with action pictures of parades, mob scenes, and men working in the fields and industry and still portraits of political and cultural leaders. There are a total of 290 pictures, produced in shades of black and white upon fine quality paper, in an oversize book measuring approximately eight inches by eleven.

From the pictures and narrative the general impression of California's history is an accurate and exciting one, but viewers will turn initially from the magnificent colored cover to the pictures inside the book, to scenes of Yosemite, Donner Lake, and the Redwoods that are produced in black and white. The contrast is sharp and unfavorable. Also the illustrations will have a reduced appeal because of the great number of portraits of forgotten leaders and of photographs of buildings. For collectors of Californiana the book contains little that is unusual or exceptional. A few views of freeway exchanges, modern architecture, and scenes during the great depression are impressive. There is a noticeable omission of illustrations of cultural institutions, literary figures, and sports areas. Such influential Californians like Sproul, Sterling, Milligan, and Wheeler are not even mentioned; such recreational areas as Catalina Island, Sequoia National Park, Lake Tahoe, and Dodger Stadium are also ignored (Disneyland is pictured but not listed in the index). The great port of Los Angeles, San Pedro, and its rival, Long Beach, are likewise overlooked.

The fast-moving narrative generally favors a broad interpretation of California history. Events of significance are mentioned, but events since 1900 are given more space. Four of the ten chapters concentrate upon such subjects as Progressivism, the Depression, and the Second World War, and such local issues as the University of California's oath controversy, the population explosion, and minority living conditions are briefly but well treated. While California's religious groups get only passing notice, Aimee Semple McPherson received unsympathetic treatment in spite of her extensive welfare work during the Depression. She merited at least two pictures for her supposed notoriety, but other religious leaders, their churches, and monuments are ignored. The motion picture industry won greater favor, but television and radio are only mentioned. These limitations are undoubtedly necessary because of space. They indicate, however, the scope of the book and the interests of the authors. The book has merit as a reference work and the narrative is without doubt far better than the usual commentary in illustrated histories.

JOHN SCHUTZ, professor of history at the University of Southern California, is secretary of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association.

*Los Angeles: A Profile.* By W. W. Robinson. (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968. 138 pp. $2.95.) Reviewed by Gloria R. Lothrop.

With the publication of *Los Angeles: A Profile,* W. W. Robinson should be declared *de facto* laureate of Los Angeles. With agile style and an irrefutable command of fact, Robinson's engaging disquisition on this model megalopolis deals with the "why" of wholesale migrations to Southern California. In the process of defining "this city in spite of itself," he fearlessly grapples with the largely corrosive, acrid, sometimes wise, and almost always amusing barbs about this "sprawling seacoast of Iowa." Yet out of the protean blur without face or profile, where smog "may be seen clinging to the horizon which presses closely and blots out distance," this lifelong Angeleno has successfully brought the past and present cities into convergent focus.

With affectionate familiarity Robinson leads us on a gambit from the stubby streets around the Plaza to the old tar path, now Wilshire Boulevard. From Goodfellows' Grotto he takes us to the Daisy. And proves he is as familiar with fact as locale as he firmly parts with the critics in pointing to the contributions made by Southern California's most distinguished necropolis, Forest Lawn. In fact, the author is so much a part of the scene that his justified impatience with the progress of the Plaza restoration is faintly discernible along with the tentative courtesies he extends toward the Los Angeles Master Plan.

As we steer through the unruly and matted mass of freeways, Robinson relates the historic conflicts associated with the development of Los Angeles harbor, the rise of organized labor and the *Los Angeles Times,* as well as the burgeoning forth of cinematic Hollywood. Even the question of minority unrest is given historic dimension as the problem is traced from the 1830's when Indians from the secularized missions were segregated in the "ranchería de poblanos" near today's City Hall. Robinson uses the same approach in linking past real estate booms and erratic zoning laws with the city's suburban sprawl and the consequent surge of branch banking and shopping centers.

It is in the final chapter "Vital City," that the essential *zeitgeist* of these "six suburbs in search of a city," is captured. As he offers examples of the furious eagerness with which Angelenos have seized upon flamboyant religious nostrums and utopian political schemes, the author presents a core sampling of the drift, experimentation, and quasi-Mardi Gras state of mind, induced in part by the beneficent climate as well as by the munificent economy. In contrast, his chapter "Cultural Detonation," could have extended its sampling beyond the corps of "instant Medicis" and bibliophiles to include the germinations at Idyllwild, JPL, and the Renaissance Pleasure Faire.

Although *Los Angeles, A Profile* does not purport to answer all the "why's"—especially in terms of Los Angeles' economic vitality appreciably sustained by ocean commerce, aviation, and the television and recording industries, it is a balanced and informed study. It unabashedly debunks hallowed apocrypha and also provides a knowledgeable bibliographic essay for students in the field. But the book is also a delight for the newcomer. It brings to life the Spanish names like Pico and Verdugo which beribbon the city's landscape. No less is it a book for the native or nearly-so who while plying the traffic tides across the Cahuenga Pass or toward San Gabriel, muses upon the ancestry of his super-city.

Gloria Ricci Lothrop, who received her Ph.D. degree in Western American history, is on the history staff of Marymount College, Los Angeles.

*A Voyage of Discovery, into the South Sea and Beering's Straits; for the Purpose of Exploring a North-East Passage.* By Otto von Kotzebue. Bibliotheca Australiana, 17-19. (Amsterdam and New York: N. Israel and Da Capo Press, 1967. 3 vols. 1258 pp. $50.00.) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

The first voyage of Kotzebue ranks among the principal scientific voyages of all time. Total scientific observation of latitude, longitude, soundings, temperatures, geology, flora, fauna and settlement was sought as was the preparation of accurate maps and charts. The principal supporter of the enterprise was the Chancellor to the Tsar, Count Romanzow, who not only selected Kotzebue as commander but also secured the aid of leading scientific observers such as Eschscholz, Chamisso and Choris.

Sailing from Kronstadt in July, 1815, Kotzebue, with the *Rurik* proceeded to Tenerife in the Canary Islands and thence to Brazil, Chile and across the Central Pacific to Kamchatka. Because of Russia's deep interest in eastward expansion, extensive observations were made in the Aleutian Islands, along the Northwest Coast and in California where Russia maintained a fur trading outpost. After a pleasant and instructive stay at San Francisco, Kotzebue sailed for Hawaii where Russian plans for occupation of the islands were at their zenith.

In December, 1816, Kotzebue sailed from Hawaii to explore the Radak and St. Lawrence Islands, Onalaska, the Ladrones, Guam and the Philippines. After a year in the Pacific, the *Rurik* began her return voyage and in the spring of 1818 reached Capetown. Another great voyager of the Pacific, Freycenet, was met there, and Kotzebue then continued northward, anchoring in the River Neva in August, 1818.

Following the text of the voyage and observations made, an extensive appendix containing individual reports is included. Krusenstern reports upon the discovery of islands; Eschscholtz on the diseases of the crew, monkeys, microorganisms, butterflies, temperatures and winds; and, Engelhardt on the geological collections of Eschscholtz. The most extensive report is that of Adelbert von Chamisso which includes such varied topics as flora, fauna, ethnology, vocabularies of Tagalog, Pelew, and the Marianas, the origin of coral islands and history and demography of Tenerife, Brazil, Chile, the Philippines, Radacks, Marianas, Carolines, Penrhyns, Aleutians, Johnstone Island, Hawaii and Kamchatka.

Originally translated from the German, and published in London by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown in 1821, this second English edition faithfully follows the first in facsimile with eight color plates and six maps. Printed on high quality paper and nicely bound, Kotzebue's *Voyage* is a valuable and necessary addition to any library or collection of history or voyages.

W. MICHAEL MATHES, an authority on sea exploration, is an associate professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

*The Indians of Los Angeles County: Hugo Reid's Letters of 1852.* Edited and annotated by Robert F. Heizer (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1968. 142 pp.) Reviewed by Homer Aschmann.

Hugo Reid lived in three worlds, a Scottish and Anglo-American one in which he was born, educated, and died, a Spanish American one to which he was marginal through most of his adult years, and a California Indian one to which he was introduced by marriage. During most of his twenty years in California he was an accepted alien both to the Mission-Mexican society and to the dissolving Indian community, some of whose members could remember the first arrival of the missionaries. He could view both cultures with sympathy but objectivity. His letters about the Gabrielino and Fernandeño Indians were published in the Los Angeles *Star* in 1852, and have been reprinted and excerpted repeatedly since. It is widely believed that he was attempting to establish his credentials to gain appointment as Indian Agent for Southern California, having gone bankrupt in the confusion following American annexation. His death intervened, but it is tempting to speculate on how the Mission Indians might have fared had they had a truly knowledgeable and sympathetic spokesman.

Before professional ethnographers such as Merriam and Kroeber began to work with them at about the beginning of this century the intensive development of the Los Angeles lowland had swallowed the indigenous cultures more completely than elsewhere in Southern California. Thus Reid's account of some aspects of the nonmaterial culture becomes singularly precious. He has preserved fragments of a rich and intricate but unbelievably alien oral literature, something that interested few of his contemporaries, missionary or secular. Only now, in an existentialist context, can it find an appreciative audience.

The brief account of missionization as recounted to him by old Indians rings true. Reid favored the progress of civilization, and he was not writing a polemic against the Church or its missionaries. The free use of the whip, forced labor, and almost penal confinement of a whole population is simply and matter-of-factly described. No single document I know of provides a better corrective to the still pervasive myth of California's mission idyll.

In the introduction to this edition Professor Heizer provides a succinct account of Hugo Reid's life and the subsequent publications of his letters. The footnotes are technical and refer to the identification of Indian words and place names from other sources, and well as comparing the *Star* text with one published by W. J. Hoffman in 1885 from now lost manuscripts.

Extremely wide margins, large type, and careful proof-reading characterize the printing of the text itself. The footnotes are not so well attended. Some numbers did not get into the text, and some have no referents in the note section. One paper (Davis, 1961) mentioned in a note does not appear in the bibliography. These are minor points, but they mar what was intended to be a definitive reprint edition.

HOMER ASCHMANN, a distinguished scholar on the Spanish- and Mexican- period Indian life, is professor of history at the University of California, Riverside.

*Labor Politics American Style: The California State Federation of Labor.* By Philip Taft. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968. 288 pp. $7.00.) Reviewed by Franklin D. Mitchell.

In 1901 representatives of several labor unions in California, conscious of the need for a central labor organization to articulate the cause of workers, formed the California State Federation of Labor. Philip Taft, convinced that labor historians have missed the political significance of state labor federations, has recounted the history of the California organization from its founding until the merger of the AFL-CIO in 1958. Although strapped by meager financial resources and possessing very limited jurisdiction over affiliated unions, the Federation quickly established itself as the dominant voice of California workers. The organization, employing such traditional political means as lobbying, campaigning for prolabor candidates, and legal manuevering, secured and successfully defended an impressive array of labor welfare legislation beneficial to organized and unorganized workers alike.

As an outline history of the Federation, Taft's book is satisfactory. He has written a detailed account of the organization's myriad activities over the years, including the Federation's position on such diverse matters as the Tom Mooney Case, communist-dominated unions, the welfare of migratory workers, and the deep-seated prejudice of union members against Orientals and other minority groups. What is unsatisfactory is the author's analysis of these activities; occasionally he fails to get inside the facts, something his almost exclusive use of federation sources should have encouraged him to do. Indeed, his heavy reliance upon published federation reports and the correspondence of union officials (regrettably, the latter cited in footnotes without reference to the collection from which it was drawn) has prevented him from establishing the record of opposition to federation policies. For example, in describing the political and organizing clashes that developed between the Federation and the CIO, records of the latter were not consulted. Moreover, Taft failed to consult the pertinent secondary literature that would have allowed him to place his findings more adequately in the larger framework of state and national history.

Despite these limitations, Taft has broken new ground in an important area. Hopefully other scholars will probe more deeply the California story — and the history of state federations elsewhere — to afford us a fuller understanding of the political role of organized labor in America.

FRANKLIN D. MITCHELL, an authority in recent United States history and a specialist on former President Harry S. Truman, is an associate professor of history at the University of Southern California.

# Book Notices

*By* Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

*They Came by Sea: a Pictorial History of San Diego Bay,* by Jerry MacMullen, is welcomed not only by San Diegans but especially by those maritime buffs who scan the Pacific Blue through the medium of such well illustrated and narrated navigational histories. Jerry MacMullen has accomplished a remarkable and long awaited achievement in assembling such a splendid collection of photographs and preparing such a ship-shape study of the colorful past and development of his own home port. The volume has been exquisitely printed by the Ward Ritchie Press. (The Ward Ritchie Press and the Maritime Association of San Diego, 1969. 152 pp. paperback $3.95; hard bound $6.75).

There is little doubt as to the busiest and most productive of Los Angeles-based historian-writers when one reads and relishes the finely printed and researched publications issuing from the pen of the Reverend Francis J. Weber, archivist for the Los Angeles Roman Catholic Archdiocese. *San Fernando Mission: an Historical Perspective* (66 pp. 1968. $10.00); *Christ on Wilshire Boulevard: a Guide to Saint Basil's Catholic Church* (32 pp. 1969. $3.00); and *Thomas James Conaty: Pastor, Educator, Bishop,* (82 pp. 1969. $7.50) — all designed and printed by the Westernlore Press of Los Angeles.

The concerned citizens of the sprawling megalopolis, Los Angeles, have long sought a solution to their top-heavy, constantly amended city charter and now finally they can analyze the published recommendations of the Los Angeles City Charter Commission in *City Government for the Future* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. 224 pp. paperback, n.p.).

*Adobe and Iron: the Story of the Arizona Territorial Prison at Yuma,* by John Mason Jeffrey (La Jolla, California: Prospect Avenue Press, 1969. 114 pp. paper bound $1.95; hard bound $5.95), is an unusual prison history graced with an informative preface by Bert M. Fireman, good photographs, document facsimiles and maps that mark Jeffrey's work as the definitive evaluation of the Yuma Arizona Territorial prison's thirty-four eventful years and the parade of its colorful inmates.

Surely 1969 will go down as *the* year for publications in the field of *Railroadiana* as more and more books in this category arrive commemorating the driving of the Golden Spike at Promontory, Utah. In *The Track Going Back: a Century of Transcontinental Railroading, 1869-1969,* a special salute is due Everett L. DeGolyer, Jr., for his sensitive prose-text and selection of the very choice 103 full-page photographs (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 206 pp. $5.00). The American Geographical Society's Occasional Publication No. 3, *The Golden Spike: a Centennial Remembrance,* edited by Wilfrid Webster (New York: Broadway at 156th Street, 1969. 118 pp. $5.00), may well prove to become one of the richest source items issued on the Transcontinental Railroad of 1869. Henry Varnum Poor's "Railroad to the Pacific" and "Proposed Pacific Railroad," reproduced in facsimile, and James Douglas' "Historical and Geographical Features of the Rocky Mountain Railroads" are certainly of inestimable value. Even more valuable is the splendid bibliographical work "The Railroad in History," by Lynn S. Mullins. Miss Mullins has prepared a bibliographical essay on the major sources of information on railroad development and expansion in this country and in addition includes photographers and those specialized museums and libraries devoted to railroads and transportation that house materials of interest to both rail fan and scholar.

Another addition to the quickly growing list of titles associated with the bloody Lincoln County War of eastern New Mexico is Eve Ball's *Ma'am Jones of the Pecos* (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 238 pp. 1969. $6.50). Of especial interest are the chapters devoted to "Lord Trayner" and "Sources by Episode." A good index enhances this worthwhile and indepth study of Ma'am Jones and her nine sons.

A most welcome reprint by the Mendocino County Historical Society is Edith Van Allen Murphey's *Indian Uses of Native Plants* (Fort Bragg, California: 1969. 82 pp. $2.50). "The Dictionary of Plant Names" and splendid "Index of Scientific Names" were edited and compiled by Walter Knight while the "Index of Common Names" was prepared by Laura Keller. Subjects covered include basketry, Indian foods and beverages, medicinal plants, tobacco, and bows and arrows. This pamphlet will prove a highly informative handbook for the novice botanist and anthropologist. Mrs. Murphey served for ten years in the Inter-Mountain area for the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs and worked with the Paiutes, Bannocks, five groups of Shoshones, Washoes, Utes, and Papagos and managed to bring together their legends and plant lore which is reprinted by the Historical Society.

For some time the University of California Press has been enriching bookshelves by publishing a steady stream of small paperback books in the field of natural history guides with Arthur C. Smith serving as the general editor. The coast of northern and southern California and especially the San Francisco Bay region have been most expertly covered. Of high interest to tide pool visitors will be *Seashore Life of Southern California: an Introduction to the animal life of California beaches south of Santa Barbara,* by Sam Hinton (Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1969. 182 pp. $2.25).

Edited by W. Patrick Strauss, *Stars and Spars: The American Navy in the Age of Sail* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1969. 158 pp. $1.95) covers the "Origin and growth, 1775-1815," "Days of Doldrums, 1815-1845," and the "End of the Age of Sail, 1845-1862" in this very compact and well arranged study.

The Pemberton Press has initiated a new series of historical reprints entitled the Brasada Reprint Series of rare and useful books on Western and Southwestern Americana. Of considerable interest is their reprint, *California in '41. Texas in '51,* by Nicholas "Cheyenne" Dawson (Austin, Texas: 1969. 124 pp. $7.50). According to Wright Howes, the original was issued in an edition of fifty copies, and this present edition is a facsimile reproduction of the famous Thomas W. Streeter copy sold at auction in 1968.

The Superior Publishing Company has published a work quite full of ship travel folders and the blue Pacific in Richard M. Benson's *Steamships and Motorships of the West Coast* (Seattle, Washington: 1968. 176 pp. $12.95). Mr. Benson recounts in picture and in a nostalgic and prideful manner the stories of the famous and unusual vessels that plied the northern Pacific Coast. His final chapter ends on a highly optimistic note touching upon the cargo vessels of the future in "Steamships and Motorships of Tomorrow."

*Meadow Lake Gold Town,* by Paul Fatout (Bloomington, Indiana: University Press, 1969. 178 pp. $6.95), recounts the sad yet merry tale in which an eastern Californian town became the site of a feverish gold rush stampede in 1865. Readers of Mr. Fatout's earlier books on Ambrose Bierce will delight in this engaging history presented in fascinating detail of the ever-challenging lure of "Making the Big Strike" that mesmerizes miners and investors alike. It is difficult to realize that nothing remains in the region to remind a present-day visitor of the once booming gold mining town, Meadow Lake.

*The Honeycomb: an autobiography,* by Adela Rogers St. Johns (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969. 598 pp. $8.95), is rich in anecdotal materials covering the newspaper, legal, and motion picture worlds of earlier days spanning 1910 through the 1950's. Much is recalled of William Randolph Hearst and Marion Davies, the parties held at fabulous San Simeon, Mabel Normand, Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, and other noted personalities that commanded the public spotlight of their day. Also included in the volume are Mrs. St. Johns' coverage of the Lindbergh kidnap case and the Wallis Simpson-Edward VIII marriage.

A paperback edition of *Photographer of the Southwest: Adam Clark Vroman, 1856-1916,* edited by Ruth I. Mahood and published by the Ward Ritchie Press, is now available (127 pp. $3.95) for the benefit of those who may not have been able to secure the very excellent hardbound edition issued in 1961. This 1969 paperback contains the same splendid 104 plates in the same size as published in the earlier edition. Vroman, bookseller and amateur photographer, took magnificent photographs and preserved through the artistry of his camera many outstanding studies of the Zuñi and Hopi Pueblos and their peoples.

The Landmarks Society of Belvedere-Tiburón, California, have produced one of the truly worthwhile community studies under the authorship of Louise Teather, *Island of Six Names: a History of Belvedere, Marin County, California, 1834-1890* (1969. 48 pp. $3.35, including tax and postage). It is well illustrated and documented, contains fine maps and a bibliography. This pamphlet should set the style for other communities to follow for the need is great for more of such carefully researched community histories.

Contra Costa County Historical Society has enjoyed a position in the historical publishing field and now issues Dr. George A. Pettitt's study, *Clayton: Not Quite Shangra-La: a Story of a California Town,* (Martínez, California, 1969. 115 pp. $5.00).

As part of their year-long salute and contribution to the California Bicentennial the Automobile Club of Southern California has reissued *California Under Twelve Flags,* by Phil Townsend Hanna (1937), revised by Anna Marie Hager (1969. P. O. Box 2890, Los Angeles, CA 90054: 32 pp. $1.00, including sales tax and postage). The twelve paintings by Raymond P. Winters, in full color, make this a very attractive item.

*History and Heritage Tours,* prepared by Dee Ulrich and illustrated by Patricia Mansur Simpson, has been published by the Women's Division, Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce, 404 S. Bixel Street, Los Angeles, CA 90017 (28 pp. $1.50). The fine and well illustrated brochure includes a Foreword by Carl S. Dentzel, president of the Cultural Heritage Board for the City of Los Angeles. Areas covered include The Plaza, San Fernando Valley, the Harbor, San Gabriel Valley, and the Central City, heart of Los Angeles proper.

Ever hear of the C.E.R.A.? It is a co-operative program of which the Miller-Wake Language Experience Readers form a vital part of the Conservation Education Through Research and Action publications at the Bakersfield Center of Fresno State College. Informative pamphlets, with Doctors Carl E. Miller and William H. Wake as co-authors, are published for ages six through nine. *Let's Visit Pioneer Village, What Do I Like?* and *What Is In the Museum?* are the first titles, the first two sell for 50 cents each, the last for 65 cents, plus tax and postage. These small booklets are well illustrated and printed and serve as handbooks for those concerned with acquainting our young Californians with their rich heritage and the benefits of living in California.

For those for whom the Grand Canyon holds a never-ending fascination, the perfect book to acquire will be Bill and Frances Belknap's brilliant tribute to *Gunnar Widforss: Painter of the Grand Canyon* (Flagstaff, Arizona: Museum of Northern Arizona, Northland Press, 1969. 86 pp. $14.50). The Northland Press has brought to a high degree superb reproductions of Widforss's exquisite paintings of the Canyon in all its varied moods. Included in this beautifully designed format is a valuable addition for art historians and collectors, a *Bibliography of Western Artists,* American and foreign-born, spanning 1796 to 1899.

Another spritely and vigorous addition to the rich histories marking the John Wesley Powell Centennial will be found in Buzz Belknap's *Grand Canyon River Guide* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Canyonlands Press, P. O. Box 21021, 1969. Water-proof edition, $5.95; standard edition, $3.95). The forty-four page river map and the ninety-six historic photographs from the "Dock" Marston Collection enrich Major Powell's own story.

*The West Coast of Mexico,* edited by Grace Loftin and Tadeo R. T. Brenton (Los Angeles: Mexico's West Coast Magazine, 1969. 256 pp. $8.95), will prove not only interesting but very informative to those contemplating a trip to the ever-fascinating areas "South of the Border." Copiously illustrated and filled with Professor Brenton's warmly personal descriptions of every city and hamlet, it will provide for an enriching experience and an improved "person-to-person" understanding of Baja California and Mexico.

*The Los Angeles Official Handbook for Visitors* has arrived and what a valuable contribution it is! Prepared under the direction of the City Economic Development Board and compiled and edited by John Hunt (Los Angeles: 1969. 128 pp. n.p.), it contains an amazing array of good photographs, in color and in black and white, various facets of the City's growth, her natural areas, resources, recreational as well as the areas adjacent to the city's boundaries, travel museums, aeronautical and space developments — all in all one of the better guide-book histories to have been issued in some time.

# In Memoriam

## ERWIN GUSTAV GUDDE, 1889-1969

Erwin G. Gudde was born in Schippenbeil, East Prussia, February 23, 1889. Though educated as a horticulturist at the Agricultural College in Koesteritz, Germany, his true interest lay in history. He soon entered the University of Berlin, and first began to study history while preparing for a career as a journalist. He emigrated to the United States in 1911, joining the staff of a German-language paper, the New York *Herold*. Next year he became assistant editor of *Vorwärts der Pacific Küste*, a German socialist newspaper published in San Francisco, but after the outbreak of war in 1914 he turned anew to academic pursuits, despite his twenty-six years, entering the University of California as an undergraduate. In 1922 he received his Ph.D. degree in German language and literature, and was a member of the faculty from that year until he retired as an emeritus professor in 1956.

Prof. Gudde was led to major in German language and literature rather than in history by professors who were mindful of the wartime prejudice against German-Americans, and he maintained a lifelong interest in German culture, reflected in such books as *Freiligraths Entwicklung als politischer Dichter* (1922) and *Social Conflicts in Medieval German Poetry* (1934), as in his successful effort of 1949 to have the highest yet unnamed High Sierra peak named Mount Goethe.

Over the years Prof. Gudde acquired a dominant interest in Western Americana, especially the role of German-Americans in California and Western history, and more generally, the origins and evolution of place names. For his works in this field he may be remembered longest. A bibliography was appended to his autobiographical sketch printed in *Names* (March, 1959), but some highlights should be mentioned. His article, "The Source of the Sutter Myth," published in this *Quarterly* in 1930, was followed by an edited document, "The Memoirs of Theodor Cordua," published here in 1933, and by his books *Neu-Helvetien* (1934) and *Sutter's Own Story* (1936). Later he published monographs on Edward Vischer and Friedrich Gerstaecker besides such well-received works as the Charles Preuss diaries, *Exploring with Frémont* (1958), the Heinrich Lienhard overland narrative of 1846, *From St. Louis to Sutter's Fort* (1961), and Henry W. Bigler's *Chronicle of the West* (1962). Several of these books were written in collaboration with his wife, Elisabeth Karpenstein Gudde, whom he married on August 12, 1941.

In the 1940's Prof. Gudde became engrossed by place name studies, out of which came a major monument, *California Place Names*, first published in 1949, with revised and expanded editions in 1959 and 1969. A companion work, *California Gold Camps*, a gazetteer and historical dictionary, will be seen through to publication hereafter by Mrs. Gudde. Prof. Gudde was associate editor of the *California Folklore Quarterly* (1945-1948), and was a founder and first editor (1952-1956) of *Names: Journal of the American Name Society.*

Despite the painful and crippling onset of arthritis, in his latter years Prof. Gudde was a familiar, cheerful figure in the Bancroft Library, where I and many other scholars came to know him, a gentle yet forceful personality always much engaged with history. The California Historical Society proffered him and Mrs. Gudde an Award of Merit in January, 1962, and in May, 1968, the University of California awarded Prof. Gudde a Centennial Citation in recognition of his distinguished achievements and notable service to the University. Three months after his eightieth birthday, Prof. Gudde suffered a stroke at his Orinda home and died within a few days, on May 7, 1969.

Dale L. Morgan

## ALEXANDER THOMAS LEONARD, JR., 1889-1970

Alexander Thomas Leonard, Jr., M.D., Fellow and long time trustee of the California Historical Society, died in San Francisco on January 11, 1970, after a long illness.

Born in San Francisco on July 22, 1889, Dr. Leonard was the son of Dr. A. T. Leonard, a native of Ireland, who came to California in 1883 to settle the estate of his uncle, Nicolaus Skerrett. Making San Francisco his home, he became a prominent physician and civic leader. Dr. Leonard's mother, Margaret Ann Barry Leonard, was born in San Francisco a short time after her parents arrived from Ireland. The Barrys, with six children, had crossed the Isthmus on their difficult journey to California. They were related to the well known pioneer, Phillip A. Roach.

Dr. Leonard, Jr., was a graduate of Santa Clara University, class of 1910, and was a recipient of the University's Award for Distinguished Achievement in 1957. He received his medical degree from the University of Southern California.

Shortly after his graduation, he enlisted in the United States Army, serving with distinction in World War I. His interest in the military continued after the war and he became active in the American Legion, serving San Francisco No. I in many capacities, including that of Commander. Dr. Leonard's fraternal affiliations included the Knights of Columbus, which awarded him an honorary life membership.

However, his lifetime interest was in the field of California history. He was an avid collector of Californiana, his residence being a museum of paintings, books, and pamphlets relating to the West. Dr. Leonard's dedicated collecting resulted in the preservation of many historic letters and documents, which added to the enrichment of many libraries.

His membership in historical societies included the Santa Clara Pioneer Society, the San Mateo County Historical Association, E Clampus Vitus, and the Native Sons of the Golden West. In the Native Sons he served not only on various historical committees, but also as Grand Historian of the Order.

In no small part, Dr. Leonard's efforts resulted in the success of the 1935 "Century of Commerce Celebration" and the 1948 Portolá Festival. In both these celebrations he was Chairman of the Historical Committee. For many years he was co-chairman of the annual San Francisco Celebration, and upon his retirement from that position due to ill health, he received the Laura Bride Powers Memorial Award in recognition of his "services in enhancing the general interest and historic renown of San Francisco."

Dr. Leonard's association with the California Historical Society was long and distinguished. Joining the Society in 1926, he was elected a trustee in 1932 and served the Society for thirty years. In 1962 he resigned as a trustee, as his health was steadily failing. His activities in the Society included the Chairmanship of Exhibit Committee for two decades and scholarly articles which he wrote for the *California Historical Society Quarterly*. Dr. Leonard introduced the annual book auctions, as well as an educational program directed by the University of California Extension. For his many accomplishments in the field of California history, the California Historical Society in 1961 gave him the award of "Fellow."

This modest, retiring authority on California history was buried from St. Agnes Church on January 14, 1970.

Dr. Leonard is survived by two sisters, Mrs. Marie L. Fillmore of Yuba City, and Mrs. Viola C. Cooley of La Canada, and by nephews and nieces.

ALBERT SHUMATE, M.D.

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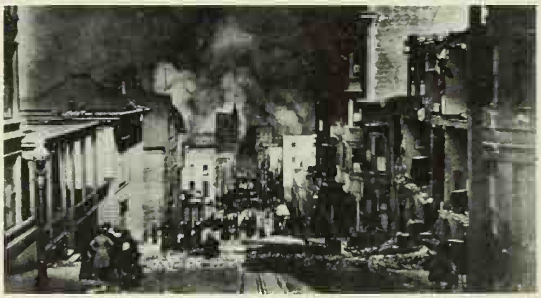

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# Redick McKee and the Humboldt Bay Region, 1851-1852

*By* CHAD L. HOOPES

THE WHITE SETTLEMENT of the Humboldt Bay Region precluded the bloody conflicts between the new settlers and Indians, which in time forced the federal government to employ Redick McKee to find a solution to the California Indian problem. Before settlers arrived in the Humboldt region, however, the United States military authorities realized the importance of good Indian and white relations in California and assigned agents to three areas. On April 7, 1847, General S. W. Kearny appointed John A. Sutter agent for the area along the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers; M. G. Vallejo agent for the area north of San Francisco Bay; and J. D. Hunter agent for the area south of San Francisco Bay. The office of Indian Affairs, under the jurisdiction of the War Department, asked these men "to maintain peace, to distribute presents, and to reclaim ex-neophytes."

In 1849, when Indian affairs were placed under the guidance of the Interior Department, it appointed Adam Johnston agent to manage the Indian situation.[1] The impossibility of the task is obvious and by the end of 1850 there were hostile movements of Indians in most areas of California. Governor Peter Burnett saw the problem in this perspective:

> The Indians saw their lands, for which the General Government showed no interest to treat, passing out of their possession to a people that had no sympathy for them, crowding into their choice places, diseases were thinning their tribes. They accepted the notion that they were a doomed race. Discouraged and moody, the Government failing to provide for their wants, the Indians saw the prospect of starvation following. To avert it came thefts from the settlers. The whites were not slow to punish the thieves, nor the Indians to avenge their wrongs with murder. Volunteer companies organized expeditions to quell the

---

CHAD L. HOOPES is an instructor in history at the College of the Redwoods, Eureka.

disturbance; they failing, the militia were called out, and then there was a pretty bill of expenses on the Indian War Account.[2]

Indian hostilities by 1850 served to impress upon Congress the necessity for some arrangement to appease the Indians and the whites. Accordingly, President Millard Fillmore authorized three Indian Commissioners for California, who brought with them a philosophy that to feed the Indians for a year would be cheaper than to fight them for a week and that to locate the California Indians on their own reservations would be fundamental for peace. Redick McKee, George Barbour, and O. M. Wozencraft received commissions from the Department of Interior designating them Indian Agents in California, effective October 10, 1850.[3]

These commissions and an appropriation of $25,000 had been authorized September 30 by Congress to "enable the President to hold treaties with the various Indian Tribes in the State of California."[4] The agents accepted their appointments, but their investigation of the salary schedule disclosed that no appropriation had been made for their salaries and expenses. Therefore, on October 15, 1850, their functions as Agents were suspended before they had begun. Since $25,000 had been appropriated in the act for negotiating treaties with the Indians, the Agents were then, by a new act, appointed commissioners for that purpose. The act provided wages of eight dollars for each day actually employed and ten cents per mile for travel. After arriving in California, they were to hire a secretary for clerical work and interpreters when needed, at the lowest compensation. Retrenchment in expenditures was necessary with such a small appropriation, when compared to the great object the commissioners expected to attain — peace between Indians and whites.

The Interior Department possessed little knowledge respecting the character of the Indians in California. The determination to obtain information concerning the Indians' manners, habits, customs, and the extent of their civilization became the primary concern and object of the department. In conjunction with this study, the Department authorized the commissioners to make treaties and compacts with the Indians, to sustain the peace, and, if needed, to recommend the building of future military installations within areas of conflict.[5] In other words, the commissioners would initiate a new system making the Indians wards of the federal government.

Redick McKee bonded himself, "with security satisfactory to the Attorney General," to care for the finances; the appropriation of $25,000 given to McKee for disbursement would cover $6,500 for Indian presents and supplies, $2,000 to each of the commissioners for support of their families, $2,500 for traveling expenses and freight, and $14,000 for a contingency fund for operations in California. McKee, however, expected operational costs to be two or three times greater, and $14,000 would never suffice. He suggested to the Department of Interior before leaving Washington for San Francisco, that an appropriation of $150,000 be made for their proposed operations on the coast. Congress ignored McKee's plea, and, in 1851, allotted only $25,000.[6]

The first leg of Redick McKee's journey to California took him across the Isthmus of Panama. He left New York on November 5 and arrived at Panama on December 4. Four days later he sailed for San Francisco on the *Northern*.[7] As the steamer made its way north along the Pacific Coast, McKee remarked that he gave much thought to his newly acquired responsibility — that of preventing the destruction and extermination of the California Indians. In the absence of direct, positive instructions with little or no counsel and advice, McKee realized that he must develop his own program for the Indians, based on "his honest desire to promote at once the best good for the Indians."[8]

He reached San Francisco on January 13, 1851. Here the three commissioners met and organized, electing John McKee, the son of Redick McKee, secretary of the commission. The commissioners made an appointment to see Governor John McDougal and members of the legislature in session at the Capitol in San Jose. From them McKee expected to learn the facts connected with the recent Indian disturbances throughout the state. But McDougal spoke very bluntly to McKee, expressing to him his belligerent feelings toward the Indians. The governor had ordered the formation of armed volunteers to "chastise" the Indians. Finding that chastisement had been expensive, McDougal now wanted help from the federal government, and this session of the legislature had passed a joint resolution requesting Washington to establish forts on the California borders to protect the settlers.[9]

As signed by the governor, the resolution read:

> *Whereas,* a large portion of our State is unprotected from the different tribes of Indians that live upon our borders, and that these tribes are frequently engaged, and are now at war, with the citizens of this state; and in consequence of our present unprotected conditions, there is no security for either life or of property; and this State not having the means of extending that protection to its citizens which their present necessities require; *and whereas,* it is the duty of the Federal Government to protect its citizens from the incursions of either internal or external enemies, therefore it is *Resolved,* the Senate concuring, that our Senators be instructed and our Representatives be requested, to use their best efforts to have a portion of the United States troops established on our borders, and also to have a line of forts erected along the same for the purpose of protecting our citizens. *Resolved,* that the Governor be requested to forward a copy of the foregoing Preamble and Resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.[10]

The legislature sent the resolution to Senator William M. Gwin in Washington. The arguments contained within the document were persuasive and were effectually presented to Congress by the Senator. Later, as a consequence of this resolution and of the work of Redick McKee and Edward F. Beale, the War Department sent the Fourth Regiment, United States Infantry, to the Pacific Division in the summer of 1852. Two companies of this military unit, under the command of Robert Buchanan, established Fort Humboldt in February 1853.[11]

The governor's austere dealings with the Indians convinced McKee and his colleagues that it was not safe for them to visit the tribes without a military escort. Many direct injuries had been inflicted upon these tribes by the volunteers; and many promises of restitution and redress had been made to them that remained unfulfilled. Thus, the Indians had lost confidence in the white man, and they were now desperately fighting for their lives and property. To stave off starvation, the Indians slipped into the valleys at night to steal cattle and food from the settlers. These depredations brought on the cry of the white man to "kill off the whole damn race." Somewhat dismayed, the commissioners could see a two-fold problem facing them — appease the whites and save the Indians.

During the early spring of 1851, accompanied by a military escort from Benicia, the commissioners succeeded in making treaties with several tribes along the Stanislaus, Tuolumne, and Merced rivers. These treaties were the first attempt to segregate Indians on a reservation in "what was primarily a white man's country."[12] In the wake of this success, McKee sent an estimate to the Department of Indian Affairs for a $75,000 appropriation that he needed to continue to achieve favorable results with the Indians. Congress, however, did not acknowledge McKee's estimate for the second time and appropriated $25,000 in 1851 to settle the California Indian problem, making the total to date $50,000. McKee viewed the decision of Congress a blunder and a mistake: he believed total war would erupt unless the Indians were appeased and their dissatisfactions stopped.[13] In this Deficiency Act, a section abrogated and annulled the commissioners' functions as commissioners and appointed them agents to negotiate with the Indians of California, "as the President of the United States may designate for that purpose; and no officer or agent so employed shall receive any additional compensation for such service."[14]

The agents desired to divide the state into three districts so their policies could be more justly realized and accomplished. Several additional possibilities, however, existed for this action: e.g., diminishing jealousies between the agents as evidenced in their individual correspondences to Washington; improving coverage of the areas of trouble within the state; and ameliorating the demands from the settlers to end the Indians' depredations.

Upon notification, the Interior Department did not approve of the agents plan of division. Nonetheless, on May 1, the agents met at Camp Barbour on the San Joaquin River to carve out a temporary three district division.[15] The agents drew lots for their district: McKee gained the Northern District, Wozencraft the Middle District, and Barbour the Southern District. The agents notified the department of their decision:

> We, as a joint body commissioners, have for the time being with a view of proceeding to the three districts of Country simultaneously. We wish to impress on the Department the great necessity of quieting and pacifying the Indians in this country before they become accustomed to the usages of war, before they learn and gain that dangerous experience. It is our opinion, if they should gain that knowledge, we will have the most formidable of all the aborigines of the continent to contend with, and a protracted war, terminating only by their extermination and at a fearful cost of life and treasure.[16]

These were wise words, and the officials in the department were cognizant that the agents were aware of the true situation and were acquainted with the necessity of devising better coverage and control of the Indian tribes. The department approved their decision on the grounds that the agents could best serve the public interest because of their proximity to the problem.

In view of the vast extent of country to be traversed by the agents in carrying out their duties, the move to cease functioning as a commission and to work individually suggested an advance in the right direction. More important, however, were the pressing demands of the settlers to have something done about the Indian depredations in specific settlements, not in each district as a whole. This was the basic factor that forced the agents to make the division. And, regardless of what the future held, the agents devised the policy to pacify the Indians — "it is, in the end, cheaper to feed the whole flock for a year than to fight them for a week."[17] This policy, although very realistic, was unsubstantial because by June, 1851, McKee, the disbursing agent for the three divisions, had no funds to institute the policy and to make treaties with the tribes. He complained, "I have not been advised even of the means of realizing the $25,000 appropriated for 1851 by the last Congress; and if I was able to do so, the whole amount would be required to meet the liabilities already incurred by us in the discharge of the trust confided in us."[18]

McKee supposed the appropriation had been sent, but it had not arrived. Agent Barbour, on Kings River, received McKee's letter telling of the "pitiful" grant of money by Congress. The agent wanted to know how the department expected them to keep the Indians in good humor by such a liberal allowance. "How this is to be done," wrote McKee, "is beyond my arithmetic."[19] But his arithmetic managed to put the federal government in debt $716,294.79 by 1852, when only $50,000 had been appropriated by Congress.

The Northern District had fallen to Redick McKee, and, regardless of the lack of funds, he planned to go to Humboldt Bay to hold councils with the Indians and to arrange for them to buy cattle at seven cents a pound. The source of McKee's misinformation regarding excessive cattle in the Humboldt Bay country is unknown. During this period the settlers needed their few cattle for draft animals and for reproduction. There was not enough beef to feed Indians accustomed to a diet of roots, sea food, and game.

The June voyage to Humboldt Bay did not materialize. McKee was very anxious to go north, but, as he wrote:

> I was embarrassed in arranging for the journey by the want of money in the chest, as well as the lack of reliable information as to the numbers and locations of the Indian tribes inhabiting those wilds. From all the information yet collected from traders, miners, and travelers, who had visited the coast and penetrated the interior of the still lately unexplored district, the Indians were quite numerous, and by far the most warlike of their race in the state. Their principal settlements were said to be on the Russian, Eel, Trinity, Scott, and Klamath Rivers.[20]

While McKee waited for funds and made preparations for his journey to Humboldt Bay, a committee of citizens from Trinidad Bay arrived in San Francisco the middle of June. It demanded that McKee protect the settlers from the marauding Indians by making treaties with the "savages." If he did not, the former were going to call on the governor for volunteers to exterminate the "belligerents." McKee remarked:

> I explained to the gentlemen my readiness, and, indeed, my great anxiety to visit their country and do all in my power to redress their grievances and *promised* that, if at all possible, I would set out with an escort of United States Troops immediately after the arrival of the steamer due in San Francisco 4th of July, 1851.[21]

McKee would not begin his laborious and expensive journey to the wilds of the north country because he anticipated that the Interior Department would soon remit the appropriation needed to finance the expedition. If the department did not, however, McKee would ask T. Butler King, Collector of the United States Customhouse, to cash a draft for $15,000 to pay pressing liabilities and to pay for the expedition. If he was unsuccessful in this bid, the expedition would be postponed still longer. McKee's detention in San Francisco for several weeks would cause him anxiety, for his journey to Humboldt Bay was paramount. The citizens committee returned north with some satisfaction that McKee would honor his promise.

The steamer arrived on schedule, but without the appropriation. Nevertheless, a dispatch from the department arrived, stating that Congress had appropriated $42,000 for general purposes and salaries: $25,000 for holding treaties, $6,750 for salaries, $9,000 for agents' salaries, and $1,500 for interpreters.[22] On July 10 assuming that Congress would release this appropriation, McKee obtained an advance of $5,000 from King, but only part of the $15,000 requested. King declined to loan McKee $15,000 without authorization from the Treasury Department.[23] McKee used $3,000 to pay against his debts and used the remainder to cover the expenses of his expedition to Humboldt County.

Of the $42,000 appropriation, only $27,500 was ever remitted to McKee to pay his debts. The disposition of the remaining $14,500 is unknown. The money due King, the sums due merchants for supplies, and the salaries due employees were debts which McKee could not postpone. Trusting that Congress would soon pay his vouchers, McKee borrowed $5,000 from the Banking House of Sather and Church to pay his most pressing liabilities. And for the remaining debts, he issued "Certificates of Indebtedness payable upon receiving funds from Washington." Of McKee's total expenditures, $716,394.79, arising from contracts to supply the Indians, Congress only satisfied claims amounting to $287,000.[24]

Congress did not honor Redick McKee's bank note for several years. In order to obtain an extension of time from the bank while he presented his case to Congress, McKee mortgaged his homestead property. For five years he was forced to pay $125 a month interest on the loan which amounted to $7,500. Not obtaining relief from the federal government and not able to continue the interest payments, McKee lost his property, valued at $30,000. McKee wrote to Congress:

> If I had not confidence in the disposition of Congress to redress real grievances when satisfied of their existence, I should have lost all faith in human nature. My experience will, I hope, prove a warning to future disbursing agents, not, under any circumstances, to advance one dime for Uncle Sam, unless prepared, as I was not, to make the old gentleman a donation of the amount.[25]

In 1870, McKee received $9,659.16 in reparation payments against his claim of $48,880. Congress acknowledged that McKee had been honest in his dealings with the Indians and in his capacity as disbursing agent. But he had borrowed money without permission, and he had failed to allow the Department of Interior to judge the expediency of needed measures. McKee was an idealist; and, when the Department of Interior neglected to furnish McKee specific orders, he could only allow his conscience to guide him.

After McKee received the $5,000 from King, he moved north to Sonoma. On August 9, 1851, he was notified that an escort of thirty-six dragoons, under the command of Major W. W. Wessells, would join his expedition. Wessells had arrived at Sonoma from Benicia the previous day, but because arrangements were not completed, the expedition's first move north was deferred until Ausust 11.[27] Redick McKee employed Thomas Seabring to guide the expedition to Humboldt Bay over the Sonoma Trail,[28] and George Gibbs for his Indian interpreter.[29]

The first seventy miles of the Sonoma Trail followed the valleys of Sonoma Creek and Russian River. Leaving the Russian River at its source, the trail crossed a divide, a series of mountains between the Russian and Eel rivers. This rough and dangerous crossing consists of nearly one hundred miles of heavy timber, brushy hills, mountains, gulches, and gorges. The trail then continues along the South Fork of the Eel to where it joins the main fork, which empties into the Pacific Ocean. Fortunately no member of the expedition lost his life, but two horses, four mules, and eight cattle perished.[30]

General J. M. Estill of Vallejo, commander of the 2nd Division of California Militia, overtook the advancing column about five miles north of Sonoma on August 14. He reported to McKee that he and his men were under orders from the governor to "furnish him protection to Clear Lake." Estill also sold a herd of 300 cattle to McKee to feed to the Indians — at a cost of $3,000.[31] The expedition of 70 men, 140 horses and mules, progressed north, passing through the settlements and on into Indian country.

Meetings were held with the various tribal chiefs along McKee's route. At these meetings, the agent spoke through his interpreter, George Gibbs, and his comments to the chiefs basically followed this speech:

> I come from the Great Father, the President, at Washington, the most powerful and the richest chief in this continent, and anything I may do in his name will be final and binding upon you, if he approves. That Great Father, my Chief, has conquered this country, and you are his children now, and subjects in all things to him. Brothers, we know you were the original owners of these broad lands, and the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Californians have been in turn your conquerors and masters, until finally the President, My Great Chief, has conquered and owns this country. The President has learned that his red children in California are at war with the whites and among themselves, are poor and ignorant, and he has now sent me among them to inquire into their condition.[32]

The chiefs were usually awed by McKee, by his kind words, and wanted to know who this Great Father, the President, was. They wanted to know where he lived, and if he was a good chief. McKee answered their questions, and the chiefs gave their approval of this Great Father and were happy to become his subjects.

The first of McKee's six treaties was made at Camp Lupiyuma, west of Clear Lake Valley on August 20, 1851. McKee gave all of Clear Lake Valley proper to eight tribes upon the condition that the tribes would live peaceably and would agree that all other tribes the President might send to the reservation would be received as brothers. Before reaching Humboldt Bay, another treaty was signed with Fernando Félix on August 22.

After much hardship, the McKee party reached the vicinity of Humboldt Bay on September 10. The party camped at the "Big Bend of the Eel River," about twelve miles from Humboldt City, expecting to remain in the area several days. McKee planned to resolve the problem between the Indians and the settlers of the Eel River Valley by establishing a reservation there.

The new settlers in the valley had taken the extremely fertile soil of the bottom lands along the river for farming, and twelve new farms had been established near present day Fortuna, Ferndale, and Loleta.[33] McKee, while visiting with these settlers, learned that many Indians made their homes in the bottom lands and that they could possibly be assembled for a meeting. McKee requested Charles W. Robinson to induce these Eel River Indians to visit his camp. (Robinson had married an Indian woman for reasons of peaceful cohabitation with the Indians while he developed his farm.) He and the other settlers had lived only a few months among the natives of this valley, making it impossible for them to establish a means of communicating verbally with the Indians. But through rigorous motions and expository remarks, Gibbs communicated with several Indians who left McKee's camp, with food and presents, to inform their brethren of McKee's invitation to sign a peace treaty. While waiting for the Indians to return, McKee visited Humboldt City. He met with the residents to obtain their opinion of what course he should follow toward settling the Indian-white problem in this area. They agreed with McKee that a government supervised reservation was indeed necessary. The agent returned to his camp the following day to learn from Robinson that the Indians were fearful of accepting his invitation to council. The Indians believed "that some design was meditated for their destruction, or that some injury would be inflicted upon them."[34] Thus, no Indians came to McKee's camp and no treaty was signed with the Eel River Indians.

Several men from Humboldt City returned McKee's visit. Their purpose was to further discuss the present Indian-white problem. One of these men, a Mr. Dupern, formerly of Norfolk, Virginia, and a merchant in Humboldt City, agreed to descend the Eel River to its mouth, in the company of Charles Robinson and George Gibbs, to explore the country and to approximate boundaries for an Indian Reservation. Also, they would make a last attempt to induce the Indians to visit McKee's camp. The explorers spent one night with the Indians, but failed to gain the natives' acceptance of their proposition to make a treaty.[35]

The idea of a reservation was utmost in McKee's mind. The exploring party returned and declared to him that the lands south of the Eel River were found to be suitable for a reservation and would "interfere as little as possible with the whites already settled." McKee was thoroughly convinced that a reservation was in order and planned a reservation plot. The agent, finding it impossible to meet with the Indians, moved his camp to Humboldt City. There, with the citizens, he discussed his chosen site for the Indian lands.

The local residents agreed with McKee that the southlands were a logical location and should be selected at once because the white settlers would soon take the choice sections, leaving the Indians the uncultivable lands. Future conflicts would no doubt result if this took place. McKee plotted the following area for the Eel River Reservation:

> That the portion of country lying between Eel River and the Mendocino mountains, described as follows, shall be reserved: commencing at a point upon the south side of the Eel River, opposite the small creek where on the agent and escort were encamped; thence running in a southwesterly direction parallel to the general trend of the coast, to the summit of the first range of mountains, ending at the northernmost point of cape Mendocino; thence along said summit to the Pacific Ocean; thence up said river in its windings to the place of beginning; together with the right of taking fish in any part of said river below the said place of beginning, and of fishing or digging for shellfish on any part of

> the coast. Said reservation estimated to be thirteen miles in length on the coast, and eighteen miles inland — average length fifteen miles; estimated width six miles.[36]

A considerable portion of the reservation along the coast consisted of salt marsh, and a portion along the river was subject to overflow. But between the river and the mountains, where Ferndale stands, patches of land were found to be suitable for cultivation.

Charles Robinson accepted McKee's offer to be subagent of this new reservation. McKee gave Robinson six head of cattle, flour, and presents for those Indians who would live peacefully on the reserved lands. Robinson was instructed to break up six acres of land within the reservation; then he was to plant potatoes sometime during the coming fall. McKee gave the subagent $140 to buy a "large prairie plow, ox-yokes, chains and a half a dozen axes and hoes," so that the agent "may obtain as much labor from the Indians as possible." Robinson's use of the oxen and tools to farm his personal lands would be his remuneration, but all items were to be held in trust as the property of the United States. To insure the intent of the Indian Agent's instructions, or in the event Robinson had an accident, "Messrs. Howard, Dobbins, and Durpren" from Humboldt City were to watch Robinson. There is no doubt that the cattle and equipment were desired by Robinson and other men to develop their homesteads, forgetting their obligations to the government and the Indians. When the news that the government had rejected the Eel River Reservation reached the Humboldt Region, any semblance of an existing reservation was lost, and the lands were taken up by homesteaders. Regardless, before McKee left the Humboldt Area he had sent a duplicate copy of the reservation plan to Howard, Dobbins, and Dupren to "be posted in some conspicuous place, so as to prevent anyone settling upon said land through mistake."[37]

McKee journeyed to Trinidad Bay as he had promised the Trinidad citizens in San Francisco in June. The Indians at this port called themselves the Kori Indians, with Oq-qua as chief. McKee assembled about fifty of these Indians, and "requested them to remove to and settle upon the reservation of land near the mouth of Eel River. Presents were distributed among them in the name of the President. But they made no reply." McKee only remained at Trinidad four days. He returned to Union September 21 because Indian hostilities along the Klamath River demanded his immediate attention. He had received reports that Indians were killing mule drivers and stealing mules from pack trains bound to and from the Trinity mines. In retaliation, the men traveling with the caravans shot all Indians they saw, the innocent being killed more frequently than the guilty. Citizens warned McKee not to attempt to make a treaty with these hostile natives, "until a war party of whites could be sent against them, and until the Indians sue for peace." McKee, confident of his ability and relying on his past success with the Indians, felt that he could quiet the disturbances without resorting to war. Securing the services of a Mr. Thompson as interpreter, McKee sent him off to visit the Indians and to induce them into meeting the "treaty maker" from the "Great White Father" at the forks of the Klamath and Trinity rivers on October 1, 1851. The Treaty of Klamath, October 6, 1851, resulted, and hostilities were ended for the time being.[38] Had this treaty been honored by the federal government, the resulting Indian wars could possibly have been avoided.

Before McKee could finish his expedition because of the rains and before he could retrace his steps back to the Humboldt Coast, he concluded his fifth and sixth treaties with the Indians at the mouth of Salmon River: the Treaty of Coratem on October 12, 1851, and the Treaty of Scott's Valley on November 4, 1851. At Scott's Valley, several men from Shasta Butte City and Scott's Bar attended the council to witness the treaty making. As part of the agreement between the Indians and the whites, the tribes had two years to move to either the Klamath or Scott's Valley reservations. In the meantime the miners would be allowed to work their mining claims, and the farmers and ranchers would have time to remove themselves elsewhere. All the gentlemen present expressed their gratifications at the conclusion of the council, and they believed that the whites and the five thousand Indians would observe the treaties.[39]

Finishing his business, McKee retraced his steps to the coast. He arrived at Union on November 21 and spent three days disposing of the mule train and breaking-up the party. Thereafter, McKee proceeded to Humboldt City. No opportunity presented itself for leaving this city until December 8, when the steamer *Sea Gull* arrived on her way to Portland, Oregon. This vessel proved to be the last opportunity to leave Humboldt for a while, and McKee concluded that he should proceed north to Portland to meet the *Columbia* on her way down the coast to San Francisco. The agent arrived in San Francisco on December 28, 1851.[40] Thus, a five month journey of exposure and great labor ended.

Reminiscing, McKee declared:

> Considering the results which must happily follow, the expenses are trifling. Taken as a whole I doubt whether ever in the history of Indian negotiations in this or any other country as much work has been done as much positive good effected and as many evils averted with such comparitive [*sic*] means at command.[41]

McKee's optimism proved to be disastrous for the Indians. His idealistic program "to feed the whole flock for a year than to fight for a week" only materialized after much destruction. McKee secured temporary peace by making presents and promises to the Indians — at times surpassing his limited powers to make and not execute treaties.

Well pleased with his expeditions, McKee suggested in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he return to Washington. He would bring the eighteen treaties that Barbour, Wozencraft, and he had made with the California Indians and explain them in person. The commissioner disagreed, even though he endorsed the treaties, but advised McKee to send the treaties posthaste to Washington.

The commissioner received the treaties, approved and delivered them to President Fillmore who signed and transmitted them with a message to the Senate where they were read June 7, 1852.[42] The Senate rejected the treaties, however, because of the immense claims against the federal government incurred by the agents. Furthermore, the attitude of the California legislature and its memorial to Congress that criticized the treaties persuaded the Senators to exclude them.

What had developed in California was an antitreaty coalition in the legislature. The Committee on Indian Affairs established by the assembly requested Redick McKee to appear before the committee to defend his reasoning for giving valuable lands to uncivilized Indians. Assemblymen charged McKee with giving the Indians large amounts of the finest farming and mineral lands in the state. In supporting his position, McKee berated their accusations, telling the committee that it was uninformed and that all the reservations together would not probably exceed 1 percent of the whole area of California. The agent further expressed to the committee that

> he had endeavored to exclude in every selection some goods lands, capable of subsisting the Indians; and it would have been a wretched policy as well as gross injustice, to have done otherwise. My object had been to give them lands which they could work, and upon the product subsist.[43]

The committee told McKee that the reservations he had given the Indians "would prove most ruinous to the prerogatives of both the Indian and white population." It was obvious to the assemblymen that when the white men wanted the reservation lands they would take them and the "Army of the United States could not expel the intruders."[44] McKee left Sacramento when the committee adjourned for the time being and retired to San Francisco to await another chance to force the issue at hand — the ratification of his treaties. The opportunity came in early March; but again the committee opposed his policy, and the assemblymen became quite "savage" in attacking McKee for giving valuable lands to "bloody savages." They would not change their attitude.

The California senators were waiting in Washington for the decision of the legislature.[45] Only the appeals of McKee and Edward F. Beale prevented the Senate from endorsing the assembly's motives and drafting a joint resolution completely rejecting the treaties. What the state legislature adopted was a memorial to Congress on the subject of the disposal of the treaties: in place of reservations, missions should be established throughout California, where the Indians could receive supplies and could farm the mission lands.[46] This design seemed to entertain that which had been attempted in the past. The result of this memorial would then be that Congress would reject the eighteen treaties. Edward F. Beale, the new Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California received a request from Washington to express his views as to the expediency of ratifying or rejecting the treaties. He stated what he believed:

> To reject them without an effort to retain the Indians confidence and friendship would undoubtedly involve the State in a long and bloody war, disastrous and ruinous to her mining and commercial interests, and affecting, more or less, the prosperity of our whole country.[47]

Regardless of McKee's and Beale's arguments, the Act of August 30, 1852, rejected the eighteen treaties. In place of the treaties, Congress appropriated $100,000 for "the preservation of peace with those Indians who have been disposed of their lands in California, until permanent arrangements be made for their future settlement."[48]

President Fillmore was not satisfied with the Senate's decision: in his message to Congress he called attention to the fact that because "the Senate not having thought proper to ratify the treaties which had been negotiated with the tribes of Indians in California, our relations with them have been left in a very unsatisfactory condition." He continued: "the Indians are mere tenants at sufferance and are driven from place to place at the pleasure of the whites. Justice alike to our own citizens and to the Indians requires the prompt action of Congress."[49] Congress, which alone is vested with the power of disposing of the public domain, should have made the necessary provisions for reservations. The agents had attempted to conciliate the Indians by kindness and their efforts would have been successful in preventing to a degree the ensuing hostilities. But the consequence of rejecting the treaties was bloodshed, and the relation between the settlers and Indians appeared precarious.

Out of the $100,000 appropriation to pacify the Indians, $25,000 was specified for the purchase of suitable presents for the displaced Indians: small white, red, and blue porcelain beads; large colored glass beads; turkey red prints; and gay colored shawls.[50] Without assuming too much, it should be evident that these goods would be almost useless to poor, hungry, California Indians who needed supplies of food which ultimately would keep them from committing depredations against the white settlements. These supplies were not authorized, and the settlers continued pushing the Indians.

A new political movement to end the Indian problem in California evolved while the controversy within the government over ratification of the treaties progressed. Governor John Bigler directed this movement to remove the Indians entirely from the state. One would wonder to what place? A move east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains would be proof of the ignorance of those people advocating this measure. The region and country was counterpart to the coastal Indians' mode of living. Most of Nevada is waste and barren desert, where only a few Indians survived. A move north would add thousands of Indians to the already overflowing population of Oregon. A move south would place the Indians directly in line of southern immigration, thus preparing the way for increased hostilities. The white man's treatment of the California Indians was no better and perhaps not much worse than in other parts of the United States. But the attitude of Bigler, however, was not a humane means of solving the Indian problem in California. The governor's message to the legislature in 1852 is not a happy one:

> The Indians ought to be removed beyond the confines of the state. . . . I condemn the reservations established by the commissioners as wrong, fraught with evil to the Indians and to the whites, and calculated to produce constant collisions and impose heavy burdens upon the government.[51]

The state senate committee on Indian Affairs approved Bigler's message, and it supported his policy until the actions of Senator John J. Warner of San Diego, "one of the best qualified men in the state to speak to the Senate upon the subject of Indians," aroused the public. Many citizens supported Warner who recommended a careful re-examination of the treaties and of the reservation system. He added, that there were many areas in the state suitable for Indian reservations and that enough land existed for Anglo-Americans and for the Indians.[52]

The governor's policy had been regarded as unfavorable by the public. But on April 6, 1852, two senators presented a memorial to Bigler that gave additional support to his policy of extermination. James W. Denver, senator from Klamath and Trinity counties, and Royal T. Sprague, senator from Shasta County, wrote in the memorial that the problem of Indian affairs in the north forced the citizens to demand

> more prompt, efficient and constant resistance, which they are no longer able to make. . . . This state of affairs cannot continue much longer. . . . We call on you as the Executive of the State, to demand from the commander of the United States forces in California troops sufficient to afford protection and to punish the depredators, or if that cannot be done, then order out the militia for that purpose.[53]

This communication gave Bigler grounds to start his campaign against the Indians. If he could not remove them, he could exterminate them. The governor sent this memorial and his personal letter to General Ethan A. Hitchcock, Commander of the United States Army on the Pacific Coast at San Francisco. In his letter, the governor told Hitchcock that the California Indians had the ferocity of South Sea cannibals and that they were born with a hatred for the white race. Furthermore, the two races could not live together and have peace, and the solution to the problem was the evacuation or destruction of the Indians, to be done by the central government because the Constitution guaranteed this service to the people. If the central government was neglectful in this duty, there was one alternative: the people would fight their own battles "to maintain their independence as a sovereign State and to protect themselves from intestine troubles, as well as from the incursions of merciless and savage enemies."[54]

These statements, precipitated by Bigler's prejudices and the memorial, are examples of his enmity towards the Indians. They are based upon emotionalism and not investigation by the government. One observation that the governor could have made would have been acknowledgment of the fact that immigration into California had not been gradual. The Indians had been pushed before a rapidly advancing civilization and every part of the country had suddenly been penetrated and explored, leaving the natives in the immediate proximity to the whites. Consequently, the Indian endured great sacrifices and loss of property. But the new settler's experiences dealing with Indians in the East no doubt justified this development.

General Hitchcock, in his reply to the governor on April 10, 1852, wrote that he had not been aware of extreme Indian problems in the northern counties. He realized that all parts of the state had problems, but he had believed that there was no need for additional troops in any one section of the state. He was thoroughly convinced of this notion, until several citizens from Humboldt Bay informed him that a military post was desperately needed somewhere near the bay or near the Klamath River. The citizens stated that "such a post would be most favorable for holding in check not only the Indians, but the whites who are so ready to create disturbances on the slightest provocation."[55] The general sympathized with the citizens and promised them that at his earliest opportunity "he would establish a military post at some suitable point within those northern counties."[56]

In addition, Hitchcock disclosed to the governor that Redick McKee had also been told in correspondence from the Humboldt Bay region informing him of brutal outrages committed by whites upon the generally harmless and inoffensive Indians living near the Bay and the Eel River. McKee understood that these bloody massacres of the Indians would continue unless Hitchcock sent a small detachment of troops to establish reservations near the Eel and Klamath rivers; that a depot for supplies should also be established on Humboldt Bay; and that by means of small pack trains regular communications could be maintained between the reservations every two or three weeks.[57] The general included McKee's remarks in his letter of April 18.

Hitchcock, however, agreed with the governor that the Indians and whites could not live together and that the whites must come into full possession of the country. He also realized that he could not give full protection to the isolated northern counties because his troops were too few in number. He had received five hundred men, but he feared their desertion if they were stationed at isolated coastal posts. Bigler was pleased with what he read in Hitchcock's letter and wrote a lengthy reply on April 12, 1852, manifesting appreciation for the general's attitude and requesting the general to make the best use of military force under his command to protect the citizens until additional troops arrived. The governor closed his letter by asking Hitchcock to keep the capitol informed of what steps the military would take to terminate the difference in the northern counties.[58]

While the correspondence between Bigler and Hitchcock progressed, McKee attempted once again to help the Indians and to have reservations and a military fort established in the Humboldt Region.

By letter he informed Governor Bigler, as he had informed Hitchcock, of the problems between the whites and Indians on the Eel River, but from a more reasonable point of view. The Indians on the Eel had been accused of killing two white men living in an isolated place, but no investigation of the murders had been made. Nonetheless, the whites had organized into several parties and planned to destroy the Indians. A communication to the citizens of Union and Humboldt Bay makes evident their plans:

> The Indians have murdered two of our citizens, under circumstances truly horrible, and at a meeting of the citizens of the valley it was unanimously agreed to commence war upon them immediately, and we the undersigned were chosen to devise some plan by which we can strike an effective blow upon them. On Monday 19th of the present month at the break of day is the day we have decided to make the attack on them. By attacking them at all points simultaneously one party moving up while the other moves down the Eel River until we meet. We hope to clear the river of them entirely. Lets thoroughly break up this den of thieves and murderers.
>
> Very Respectfully Yours
>
> B. F. Jameson
> T. D. Felt
> Kennerly Dobyns[59]

Attacking the Indians near the bay, the whites slaughtered many of them. The party then proceeded to Eel River and renewed their work of death and killed fifteen or twenty more defenseless natives. Not one of them had been suspected of being involved in the murder of the two white men. McKee related other cases of "wanton murder" of the Indians to Bigler, which, wrote McKee, "if it did not endanger the peace of the northern frontier, it had at all events brought lasting disgrace upon the American name."[60] He suggested to the governor that some measures were necessary to vindicate the laws of the country as well as those of humanity by bringing some of the white desperadoes to punishment.

Governor Bigler gave McKee's letter to the senators whose counties were involved in the Indian problem. These senators did not accept McKee's notions of "wanton murder of the Indians by the whites." McKee believed that the activities of the whites were purposely not noticed by those senators who wanted the Indians removed or exterminated. The agent proposed that the senate make an investigation of the massacres which would prove the validity of his statements. The senators countered by stating that they were well informed as to what was taking place in the north. If there was any contradiction, any special credit should be given to the statements of gentlemen because "they happened to be members of the legislature which was a position in which McKee's experience did not lead him to concur." McKee denied that he had made unsound reflections against the character of the senators; but his final remarks to them suggested that "nothing was to be expected of the government, except the old state of affairs and the war of extermination will continue."[61]

Redick McKee and the politicians exchanged words over the controversial issue of the Indians, while Edward F. Beale and General Hitchcock worked towards a plan of permanent arrangement for the Indians and whites — based upon McKee's reservation plan. Beale submitted a detailed proposal for a new program to Washington in October, 1852. In part it contained the following proposals:

> A system of military posts to be established on reservations, for the convenience and protection of the Indians; these reservations to be regarded as military reservations or government reservations. Each reservation to contain a military establishment, the number of troops being in proportion to the population of the tribes.[62]

This program was eventually adopted by Washington and California. The federal government appropriated $250,000 towards the formation of five military reservations, garrisoned by federal troops and California volunteers: Nome Lackee, Klamath, Tejon, Mendocino, and Fresno.

The humanitarian efforts of McKee, Beale, and several citizens of Humboldt County, as opposed to the destructive efforts of McDougal, Bigler, and several members of the California legislature, were soon to be realized: the War Department would respond with ample troops so that General Hitchcock could fulfill his promise to the citizens of Union and Humboldt City. He would send two companies to Humboldt Bay in January, 1853, to test the new policy that had evolved from the work of Beale and Hitchcock and from McKee's suggestion to Hitchcock that there was a need for reservations and for a supply depot to be established on Humboldt Bay.

## NOTES

1. U. S. Congress, *House Executive Documents,* 1848, Doc. 17, serial 573, pp. 182-345.

2. Herbert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884), VII, 482. By December, 1853 the war debt amounted to $771,190.

3. John W. Caughy, *California* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), p. 325. A Democrat Congressman remarked, "the three agents were entirely ignorant, not only of the country, but especially of the native and the habits of the Indians. The agents were to protect the people of California from the Indians."

4. *9 U. S. Stat. At. L.* (1850), 558.

5. U. S. Congress, *House Executive Documents, 1850*, Doc. 1, Serial 595, p. 152; U. S. Congress, Senate, *Department of Interior Report, 1853*, Doc. 4, Serial 688, pp. 8-9.

6. *9 U. S. State. At L.* (1850), 572; U. S. Congress, *Senate Executive Documents, 1853*, Doc. 61, Serial 620, pp. 1-2; Alban Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and Their Administration, 1849-1860* (Oxford, 1932), p. 44.

7. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 53; U. S. Congress, *Senate Miscellaneous Documents, 1866*, Doc. 37, Serial 1239, p. 1.

9. William H. Ellison, "The Federal Indian Policy in California," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. IX, 48; Charles Coan, *Federal Indian Policy in The Pacific Northwest, 1849-1870.* (Berkeley, 1920); Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VIII, 456; Hoopes, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Because of the high cost to subdue the Indians, the California Legislature authorized $1,100,000, as bond issues, payable semiannually, to liquidate the $924,295.65 debt accumulated fighting the Indians by 1854.

10. *California Statutes* (1851), p. 530.

11. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Chad L. Hoopes, "Fort Humboldt" (Masters's Thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1963), pp. 37-48.

12. Hoopes, "Fort Humboldt," p. 43.

13. *9 U. S. Stat. At L.* (1851), p. 572.

This act also provided $6,750 pay for each Commissioner from October 1, 1850 to June 30, 1851.

14. *Ibid.*

15. U. S. Congress, *Senate Executive Documents, 1852*, Doc. 16, Serial 613, p. 486.

16. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

17. Serial 613, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 497.

19. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

"Many Indians had been dispossessed of their old homes. These unfortunate victims of white man's land hunger and congressional inefficiency were poorly provided for by an appropriations of $50,000 until permanent arrangements be made for their future settlement." Hoopes, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

20. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

22. *10. U. S. State. At L.* (1852), p. 56.

23. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

24. Ellison, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59; Hoopes, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
In 1854, Congress allowed the claim of John C. Fremont for $183,825; in 1856 the claim of O. M. Wozencraft for $7,000; in 1860 the claim of Samuel J. Hensley for $96,276. Other claims were not allowed. And only part of McKee's claim was allowed.

25. U. S. Congress, *House Miscellaneous Documents, 1871*, Doc. 102, Serial 1463, p. 4.

26. U. S. Congress, *Senate Report, 1870*, Report 20, Serial 1409, pp. 1-3; U. S. Congress, *Senate Miscellaneous Documents, 1866*, Doc. 37, Serial 1239, pp. 1-3.

27. Journal of Major W. W. Wessells in U. S. Congress, *Senate Executive Documents, 1853*, Doc. 76, Serial 906, pp. 59-68.

28. The itinerary of McKee's expedition is shown on a map in the National Archives, No. 47 — "Sketch of the Northwestern parts of California accompanying a journal of the expedition of Redick McKee, compiled by George Gibbs in 1851." Thomas Seabring had seen a member of the Gregg party in 1850. He had attempted to return to Humboldt Bay the Spring of 1850 with wagons that he was forced to abandon along the route along the Eel and Russian rivers. This route became the Sonoma Trail and used extensively for opening the Humboldt Region.

29. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of The United States, Part III* (Philadelphia, 1853), 99-177.
George Gibbs' Journal of the McKee Expedition is in this volume. Gibbs was attached to the Indian Commission in Oregon and was acquainted with the Chinook language. He was also a practical topographical engineer.

30. Serial 613, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

31. John McKee's "Journal of Minutes" of the expedition from Sonoma through Northern California — August 9, 1851 to December 29, 1851. *Alta California* (San Francisco), September 3, 1851, "Account of The Doings of Major General Estill and his staff of The California State Militia."

32. Journal of Minutes, *op. cit.*, August 18, 1851.

33. The "Big Bend of the Eel River", according to the Gibbs' Map, was located in the present area of Fortuna, where Rohner Creek empties into the Eel River. McKee called it Communion Creek. M.A. Parry, "The History of Loleta" (Master's Thesis, Humboldt State College, June, 1963), pp. 1-4.

34. Journal of Minutes, *op. cit.*, September 11, 1851.

35. *Ibid.,* September 12, 1851.

36. Journal of Minutes, *op. cit.,* September 16, 1851.
The George Gibbs' Map gives a clear outline of the reservation plat.

37. Journal of Minutes, *op. cit.,* September 16-17, 1851.
The Journal gives the details of the three men's duties.

38. Journal of Minutes, *op. cit.,* September 18, 1851.

39. *Ibid.,* November 4, 1851.

40. Schoolcraft, *op. cit.,* p. 177.

41. Serial 688, *op. cit.,* p. 284.

42. Rockwell D. Hunt, *California and Californians* (San Francisco, 1930), II, 448.

43. Serial 688, *op. cit.,* p. 248.

44. *Congressional Globe,* 33rd Congress, 1st Session, Pt. 3, p. 2173.

45. Serial 688, *op. cit.,* p. 296.

46. *Ibid.,* p. 308.
McKee wrote to President Fillmore, "My opinion is, that unless our general policy is carried out in good faith, there will very shortly be a general Indian war on the frontiers of the state. The Indians must be fed for awhile or killed off." California, *Journal of the Senate, 1852, pp. 44-64.*

47. *Ibid.,* p. 329.

48. *10 U. S. State. At L.*
In January, 1905, the injunction to secrecy of the Treaties was removed. The unratified treaties had quietly reposed in the archives of Congress, forgotten by everyone but the Indians. At present, all eighteen of them are in a bundle in the Office of Indian Affairs, General Files, California, I 76/1852. Clipped to each treaty is a letter of rejection by the Senate. Hoopes, *op. cit.,* p. 44.

49. U. S. Congress, *Senate Executive Documents, 1852.* "President's Annual Message, December 6, 1852. Serial 673, p. 10.

50. Serial 688, *op. cit.,* p. 360.

51. *Journal of the Legislature of the State of California, 1852,* pp. 21-74.

52. *Ibid.,* pp. 537-604.

53. *Ibid.,* pp. 703-704.

54. *Ibid.,* p. 705.

55. *Alta California,* March 21, 1853.

56. *Journal of California Legislature, 1852,* p. 708.

57. Serial 688, *op. cit.,* p. 318.

This suggestion evolved to the birth of Fort Humboldt and many smaller camps and posts, supplied by Fort Humboldt.

58. *Journal of California Legislature,* 1852, p. 711.

59. Copied from the original letter dated January 15, 1852, Mendocino Valley and addressed to "Fellow Citizens and People of Union town and Humboldt Bay." Clark Museum, Eureka, California.

60. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1852), 708.

61. *Journal of California Legislature,* 1852, pp. 396-397.

62. Serial 688, *op. cit.,* p. 274. Hoopes, *op. cit.,* pp. 47-68.

# Costanso's 1794 Report on Strengthening New California's Presidios

## *Translated by* MANUEL P. SERVÍN

In the March issue of the *Quarterly* Don Miguel Costansó's contributions to the founding and the subsequent development of Spanish Alta California were emphatically but briefly presented in the article "Miguel Costansó: California's Forgotten Founder." Unfortunately such an article, no matter how well documented, had to be extremely limited and could not reveal the scope and depth of Costansó's ideas and measures for overcoming the problems and dangers confronting Spain's neglected province of Alta California. It is to make to the reader vitally aware of Costansó's talented ability not only to analyze Alta California's immediate and far-ranging problems and dangers but also to delineate sound, realistic solutions for them that the "Report of Don Miguel Costansó to the Viceroy, the Marqués de Branciforte, on the Plan for Strengthening the Presidios of New California, 1794,"[1] is now translated and published in English.

Costansó's "Report to the Viceroy" is a penetrating document. In it, the Engineer promptly recognizes the poor state of Alta California's defenses and the immediate measures necessary to remedy the situation. He, however, goes much deeper than this in analyzing the Province's problems. His evaluation of the English threat and his appreciation of the British talent for profitable and effective colonization are notable for their objectivity. Perhaps of greater significance is his extended explanatory recommendation that Alta California be populated by *gente de razón* (Hispanicized people of mixed blood) in order to stem English designs, to help civilize the Indians, and to encourage the economical and mercantile development of the Province.

Because Costansó's findings and recommendations were so enlightened and could have helped to stymie North American imperial-

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istic ambitions during the period of Manifest Destiny by making the Province truly Mexican, it is puzzling to note that this translator has not found an English translation of it. Moreover, references to it, both in monographs and general works on California history, are rare, except for those by Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., and H. H. Bancroft.[2] Yet manuscript copies of the "Report" can be found in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley and the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.[3] Furthermore, this "Report to the Viceroy", along with Costansó's other reports on California, have been exquisitely transcribed and published by Don José Porrúa Turanzas in Volume V of the Colección Chimalistac, *Noticias y Documentos Acerca de las Californias, 1764-1795* (Madrid, 1959).

I am grateful to Porrúa Editorial, S.A., not only for publishing the "Report to Viceroy", but also allowing me to utilize his published version, which is an exact transcript of the manuscript at the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, for my translation. At the same time I am also thankful to Professor Donald C. Cutter who so graciously read and corrected both the translation of the "Report to the Viceroy" and the previous article, "Miguel Costansó: California's Forgotten Founder."[4]

## REPORT OF DON MIGUEL COSTANSÓ TO THE VICEROY, THE MARQUÉS DE BRANCIFORTE, ON THE PLAN FOR STRENGTHENING THE PRESIDIOS OF NEW CALIFORNIA

### 1794

Most Excellent Sir:[5]

In your superior decree of last September 20th, Your Excellency was pleased to order me to report whatever thoughts I might have on the plans for strengthening the presidios of New California, sending me for this purpose the file of this project with the official communication of the 22nd of the same month.

According to the file, the King keeps four presidial companies in those settlements — namely, one in the port of San Diego, another along the Santa Barbara Channel, the remaining two in Monterey and in the port of San Francisco. In all they amount to 218 men, including the officers, sergeants, corporals, and one surgeon.

This small number of soldiers guard the vast territory extending from 32½ to 38 degrees north latitude, i.e., from the port of San Diego to that of San Francisco.[6] The coastline between these two points extends more than 200 leagues,[7] provides many bays, coves, and anchorages with good shelter and depth for vessels of all sizes.

In view of this simple description, Your Excellency's natural perceptiveness will easily comprehend that the troops who presently occupy New California cannot carry out any other duties than those originally intended; namely, to contribute to reducing the numerous pagans of those regions to a civilized and Christian life by making them respect the religious functions and the office of the ministers of the Holy Gospel, to preserve peace among the new Christian vassals of our August Sovereign, and to maintain the greatest harmony between them and the pagan tribes who occupy those lands.

Consequently, whenever the strengthening of those presidios is discussed, the creation of a corps of troops for garrisoning and defending the presidios that are to be built must be considered imperative. There must be sent in advance workers who possess different skills pertaining to the construction of the buildings which have been planned and deemed necessary.

If the new construction which we are considering is to be funded, the cost that such an undertaking demands and the expenses that it will place upon New Spain's Royal Treasury, which is already burdened with so many urgent matters, must be understood.

A few regular batteries of eight cannons of twelve-pound shot, which will supposedly have breastworks made of dirt faced with adobe and which have been proposed for defending the entrances to the ports of San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco, will cost, according to the prudent judgment of experienced and practical men, about eight thousand pesos each. It must be inferred from this that a great expenditure would devolve on the Royal Treasury from the building and construction of castles or forts of brick and mortar, notwithstanding how curtailed the costs may be thought — the respective buildings must billet the garrison, be storehouses for the safe-keeping of munitions, foodstuffs, and other related materials.

The construction of the above-stated batteries, which in my judgment are most necessary, will necessarily give rise to greater expenses than just those involved in construction because each presidio must be assigned a number of trained and experienced artillerymen who are considered necessary to man eight cannons. Concerning this point, if to Your Excellency the need for these batteries seems urgent, you could speak to Brigadier Don Pablo Sánchez[8] whose knowledge in such matters is very well known.

Up till now I have only touched upon those problems which are apparent at first sight and which place obstacles in carrying out the plan of strengthening the presidios of New California — the problems which I presently view as insurmountable because of the great expenditures that are currently being made by the Royal Treasury. The consideration of these problems, however, is not important at this time. What is important now is to find some means by which to avoid, without greater expenses, the dangers and evils that now threaten us and to become jointly more aware of the nearness of the foreigners already settled in the coasts of New California.

Actually, we have knowledge of the English nation's great activity, its boldness and audacity in carrying out and directing its enterprises, and its customary expertness in the sciences related to navigation and to the ability of making its colonies prosperous through commerce. We know that they have shown great interest in the fur trade, an abundant product and enterprise along those coasts where they have discovered innumerable ports, bays, gulfs, and channels that everywhere make available shelter and anchorage to their ships.

We also know that catches of every type of fish are most abundant; that the climate is healthful; that the lands are suitable for crops of all types; that they are pleasant; that they are well forested with trees suitable for the construction of buildings and ships; and that the English have the means of gathering and transporting in their ships as great a number of people from Greater China as they wish in order to settle them in those new lands — whose ownership and discovery they claim — and to make them vassals of Great Britain.

Nor can we ignore that from that vast empire they will enjoy many benefits and advantages for carrying out their plans because its natives are generally industrious, attracted to commerce, and inclined to practicing the mechanical arts and farming.

From Canton the English will supply their colonists at lowest prices with wearing apparel, utensils, furniture, and other necessary things for living. The English trading posts, which have been established in that port by request of the British Admiralty and by self-interest and convenience, co-operate with everyone without any contributions or funds from government.

The first commercial expeditions to the Northwest Coast of this America were made from Macao and Canton.[9] After a brief period some London businessmen became directly interested in the fur trade, and formed a company under the auspices and protection of the government for highly capitalized enterprises as is evident and is well documented from the papers found in Captain Colnett's possession when he was apprehended in the port of Nutka[10] (with the ship he commanded) and sent to San Blas by Don José Martínez,[11] *piloto graduado*[12] of that [naval] department.

Everything is favorable to England's plans, and it will certainly know how to take advantage of such propituous circumstances. And, in this case, how great will be the wealth of these new colonies in a few years?

It has only been a few years since His Most Excellent Lordship, the Duque de Almodóvar,[13] discharging the post of Minister Plenipotentiary in St. Petersburg for the affairs of our Court informed the King by means of an official dispatch (a copy of which is before me) to His Most Excellent Lordship, Don Ricardo Wall,[14] former Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the Russian maritime expeditions. And, referring to one of the articles in his classified instructions, which concerned the discoveries made by that nation along the western coast of the American continent, he expressed himself in this manner:

> In reference to the danger that we may fear from the Russian maritime expeditions to our America, it seems so remote at the present that it scarcely warrants consideration. I do not know whether one can truthfully say that Spaniards should fear the Russians on the coasts of America as much as the Russians should fear the Spaniards on those of Asia; that it is probably more likely that the Americans might come and conquer the Siberian coasts than for the Russians to be able to do the same in our America. . . . These voyages serve more for the advancement of geographical knowledge than for enlarging the empire.

> In the centuries to come something else may occur. The revolutions that occur in the world are very odd. If those eastern provinces (Siberia and Kamchatka) should become civilized, change their system of laws and customs, and take advantage of their situation, great events which we should neither imagine nor fear today could occur.

The revolutions of this world are in fact very strange. And, although some may present foreboding or solid reasons for predicting future events, the political events are accurately predicted, especially those related to purpose and nature, but regarding the manner or accidental occurrences, predictions generally turn out to be most illusory.

His Lordship, the Duque de Almodóvar, was partly a witness to the events which he judged to be possible but only in a most remote manner and in the centuries to come. With a few more years of life an event that he could neither be expected nor foreseen could have been witnessed: he would have seen the coasts of America invaded by another nation much more dangerous to us than Russia, and, finally, he would have seen it attempt explorations whose object certainly was not limited to the advancement of geographical knowledge.

From the very first moment in which America was discovered by the Spaniards, it became an object of lust for European nations — all attempted to gain possession of some part of its beautiful territory, either on the continent or in the adjoining islands. The greatest and most beautiful part was occupied by the Crown of Spain by right of primacy. And, after more than two hundred and fifty years in which it has kept intact the immense regions which it acquired, they can properly be called the fountain of all wealth and prosperity. Would to God that our most remote posterity may see its sovereignty perpetuated in the glorious hands of our August Sovereigns.

In order to perpetuate this fortunate event, I think that it is of utmost importance that there now be utilized the most opportune and efficient means for preventing the dire consequences that will necessarily result from our omission or indifference in such an important matter and thereby promptly neutralize the attempts which the enemies of the Monarchy will naturally make in order to grab off whatever part they can of our best possessions, to which end it is to be feared the English settlements in California may be directed.

The measure of strengthening the presidios located in the ports of San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco, besides being most important, as I pointed out before, is perhaps somewhat risky because each fortification is situated in an area devoid of resources and help and the garrison of which does not know upon whom to rely for aid due to the lack of population. It will therefore have to surrender, even after a most vigorous defence has been made, and it will necessarily be much more difficult and costlier to regain the lost fort and its surrounding territory.

Therefore, it is my judgment that the first thing that we should consider is populating the territory. Of what value are immense areas of territory to us if we do not populate them? Of nothing more than an insufferable load without the least expectancy of receiving any benefit.

There have been, and are being, spent immense sums on the propagation of the Catholic Faith among the pagan Indians of this continent. Missionaries, who proclaimed to them the Holy Gospel, who have been sustained in their ministry by deference to the armed military, have been sent to them. This enterprise cannot be praised enough and is representative of the religious zeal of our August Monarchs. As new missions are established, new troops are raised and presidios erected. Nevertheless, the old foundations continue to exist, and the Royal Treasury is being eroded limitlessly. There are missions which are over one hundred years old, and we still see them staffed by Father-Ministers and by the same military escort, as in the beginning. But it has to be this way because in those reductions there are scarcely any other inhabitants except those native to the territory whose inconstancy must be continually observed so that the restless ones do not flee and disturb the tranquility of the land.

In order to avoid the problems and the setbacks that have developed and to have the missions prosper, to instruct the Indians in arts which are demanded by society, to civilize and to make them more useful vassals to the Monarchy, there are no means more efficacious than from the beginning of a new establishment to introduce among them *gente de razón* (as European Spaniards, the Creoles, and the people of mixed blood are called in order to differentiate them from the native Indians), provided they are hardworking and useful. This is the measure upon which the Indians of those vast lands must depend. The governors who are above the missionary priest and the captains of the presidios of the provinces of this New Spain have clamored, and are clamoring, for it — especially those of the Californias, Upper and Lower, or Old and New. It is known to me that Colonel Pedro Fages, who has been governor of the Californias and is now residing in this capital, has proposed this useful plan on various occasions and that by his efforts this Superior Government has sent some families of craftsmen to Monterey and San Diego.

In order to obtain these inexpressable benefits which are derived from this measure and which pertain to the moral, physical, political, and Christian aspects, it is not necessary that the Royal Treasury immediately pay costly expenses. It will be enough to send annually in the ships which sail from San Blas to those settlements some families who can conveniently travel by sea and to give each individual a naval ration for the voyage to ship's port to which the ships go, and from there another stipend until they are deposited at their final destination. To what has been said, it is necessary to add the corresponding subsidy of instruments and useful tools for his respective profession or occupation because such a measure is most helpful in attaining the principal goal.

The King gives a soldier arms for the defence of the nation. It is not less compatible with the pious intentions of His Majesty that for the growth of his kingdom the new settlers receive tools and farming equipment. By such a measure the Indians, aided by the paternal love and Christian zeal of His Majesty, will receive a training capable of making them as happy in temporal matters as in the spiritual; and, as time passes, those distant lands will be seen to prosper, benefitting the state. But without trades and industry, the Indians will never be able to be men and useful vassals.

Once Spanish or mixed-blood master craftsmen and colonists are stationed in the missions, they can be supported from the mission's temporalities by assigning to them a ration or food in proportion to the size of their families and by paying them in accordance to the effort they exert in teaching the Indians and in accordance to the things which they produce that were made by them or their apprentices. The economic system of the Reverend Father Missionaries and the fine method which they utilize in administering the temporalities in New California assures us beforehand of the success of these measures which they themselves desire and which they have longed for in their consultations where they sought the happiness of their spiritual sons.

Experience has demonstrated the fertility of the Spaniards and of the persons of mixed blood of this kingdom is much greater than that of the Indians. Perhaps this is so because when they are reduced to a civilized life or to a less wild existence, they procreate much less; or because when they intermarry with Spaniards or white persons, there is generally produced from the second or third generation some individuals who barely have a trace of Indian since they are reared among Spaniards and their language, habits, and customs no longer differ from ours.

For this reason it is evident that the number of Indians in New Spain decreases at the rate that the mixed-blood multiply. The same thing will happen in mission towns if families of farmers and craftsmen are placed there in the manner which has been proposed. The Indians will be civilized much faster. In a period of twenty to twenty-five years the missions will be towns where parishes can be established. They will cease being a burden to the Treasury, and their citizens will reach a point of contributing large sums to the Royal Treasury.

Another most useful measure for development of population in the Californias is the one which His Majesty dictated and prescribed over ten years ago in the royal order to the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands by the classified mail of the Secretariat of the Indies. In it he states that the ship which sails from the port of Cavite for Acapulco, when making its landfall on the coast of New Spain must cast anchor at Monterey and disembark at that location all the discharged American soldiers from those islands who voluntarily wish to remain, either for the purpose of joining the presidial companies or of becoming settlers pursuing farming or some other profession. Tracts of land must be allotted to them, as must be assumed from the vastness and fertility of the territory. A very large fine was imposed by this sovereign decree on a ship's captain who willingly ignored the punctual fulfillment of the royal order. It was fulfilled for the first three or four years, but then, for some reasons which I do not know, it was not obeyed.

Nevertheless, the landfall at Monterey was not of less benefit to the Philippine Galleon than to the colony. The crew and passengers found there fresh food which is naturally longed for after a long voyage. The sick sailors, as a result of the good care, healthful climate, air, and water, got well in a few days, became accustomed to the area, and applied themselves to fishing and other labor pertaining to their occupation that benefitted the colony. The soldiers' and the citizens' families obtained every type of clothing in exchange for a few gifts of food and other objects made in the province; the presidios, of many goods and arms which they lacked and which the ship did not urgently need.

It is not necessary to consider the great advantage which would have been derived by the colonies of New California, if this already indicated method of providing the means of increasing its population had not been interrupted. This method, in my judgment, is the most simple of all that can be thought up and the least burdensome on the Royal Treasury. When the last measure was decreed, no difficulty was experienced in its execution, and I do not believe that any exists today. For this reason I consider it most appropriate for Your Excellency's zeal and for His Majesty's benefit to decree again the prompt obedience to the royal order.

Above all, it would be of the greatest importance to initiate the navigation of the coasts of Sonora, New Galicia, the Californias, and in general of all the coasts of the South Sea that are part of this Viceroyalty. This would encourage its inhabitants to construct small ships, grant them franchises and freedom to trade among themselves since they have a mutual need for each other, since they are brothers and vassals of the same sovereign, and since navigation and commerce must be viewed as the poles around which the populating and the prosperity of any province must revolve. It pains one to think that in these vast North American coasts of the Pacific Ocean the King does not possess a single vassal who is the owner or proprietor of one sloop, schooner, or some other type of coastal vessel, especially since in previous years, when there was freedom of trade among New Spain, Guatemala, and Peru, there were various shipbuilders capable of carrying out maritime enterprises. A considerable number of sailors could be seen, and there was an abundant number of different towns which took an interest in that business. But the business interests of Cádiz — fearing that that shipping would diminish the demand of its products, when it could only have an opposite and generally favorable effect — managed to destroy that budding enterprise very early by repeatedly making unjust claims, and the vassals engaged in the nascent endeavor, who were forced to seek another type of livelihood for their families, began neglecting shipping as well as abandoning coastal life. These are the reasons why the depopulation of the coast is noticeable and why tremendous expenses have also been suffered by the Crown during the last twenty-five years when voyages and explorations have been undertaken in this continent where there is a total lack of sailors, naval yards, and supplies for the construction of ships — excepting lumber which is spontaneously produced in the forests in many places.

Maritime trade on the West Coast does not exist today. And as long as this inactivity continues to persist, the Royal Treasury will not receive any funds from it. But if shipping is promoted and franchises are granted, the demand for goods and merchandise from Europe and from the nation will increase immediately. This demand, it can be assumed, will contribute somewhat to the Royal Treasury. As time passes this trade will be able to contribute proportionately by means of the taxes which will be imposed in accordance to its growth and to the profit it renders to those engaged in it.

The colonists of the Californias will be able to have a market for their materials and their manufactured goods. Fishing for sardine, salmon and tuna — which are extraordinarily abundant in those coasts and are unknown fishes in New Galicia[15] — will be an item of profit to them, if they learn to preserve and cure them with salt. The profit from ham and salted pork, from flour and legumes can be sold at San Blas and other torrid areas at better prices than those in effect today, the freight costs of those foods transported down to the coast from the interior of the continent are high and make those foods scarce. The silver and gold mines of Old California, which are barely worked because of the scarcity of workers, of foodstuffs, and all commercial products, will then be profitably worked for the benefit of the owners, of the public, and of the Royal Treasury.

The preservation of the Sovereign's proprietorship and ownership of these continental coasts is at present one of the most interesting and important matters. It was for this purpose that presidios were established in Upper California, that the port and shipyards were established in the Naval Department of San Blas,[16] and that ships were constructed to carry the settlers and the supplies which they annually need to the ports of Monterey and San Francisco. It was with the precise objective of obtaining accurate knowledge of those lands, of the condition and character of their coasts, ports, islands, and other circumstances, as well as of investigating the voyages and activities of foreigners who have always been eager to occupy them, that the King has at different times sent officials, pilots, builders, and crews of his Royal Fleet. These most costly expeditions have been made by the order of His Majesty so that there have been very few enterprises which have been more highly recommended or which have enjoyed greater diligence.

This is what I consider sufficient at this time in order to make these colonies flourish and to prepare them to defend themselves and later to depend on themselves. In case of war, however, other measures can be taken, such as the arming of ships stationed at San Blas and the shipping in them of the troops and forces needed to combat the ambitious pretensions of the Monarchy's enemies.

Finally, Most Excellent Sir, the solicitude of Your Excellency in promoting whatever is conducive for safeguarding those lands is most proper, and for this reason I have desired not to omit mentioning any measures which might have come to mind, relying upon my incomplete understanding, the knowledge acquired on my voyages and observations of the conditions that I have attentively seen and investigated. If my ideas should lack precision and accuracy, Your Excellency will correct them by relying on his well-known knowledge, being indulgent with me because what moved me to present them was my zeal for serving the best interest of His Majesty and the public.

May keep Your Excellency many years. Mexico. October 17, 1794.

Miguel Costansó

His Most Excellent Lordship
The Marqués de Branciforte

## NOTES

1. "The Report to the Viceroy" at the Bancroft Library was entitled ["Informe de S. or D. Miguel Costansó al Exmo. S. or Virrey de Branciforte sobre el proyecto de fortificar los precidios de la N. California"]. The copy at the Biblioteca Nacional contains no title and is found in a bound volume with other manuscripts.

The title used in this text and translation is taken from *Noticias y documentos acerca de las Californias, 1764-1795* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1959).

2. See Florian Guest, "The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte," *California Historical Society Quarterly,* XLI (March, 1962), 29-50, and H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1884), I, 602-603.

3. The call number at the Bancroft Library is M-M 401; at the Biblioteca Nacional it is Documento 19, 266 of the *Papeles varios referentes a México.*

4. Since the article was written, I have learned that Costansó died in Mexico City on 27 September 1814. *See* Joachim Blake to Señor Secretario de Estado, Madrid, 3 June 1815, in Miguel Costansó, Expediente Personal 1,813, Archivo General Militar, Segovia. According to his service records, which give his age and the date in which it was written, Costansó was born in 1740 or 1741 in the city of Barcelona. *See* Guerra Moderna, Legajo 7272, Cuaderno 9, Archivo de Simancas.

Unfortunately two errors crept into my manuscript: 1) Portolá was never governor of Sinola as stated on page 3; and 2) it was not in September of 1793, as stated on page 14, but in 1794 that Viceroy "decreed that he receive recommendations for strengthening the presidios of Alta California."

5. The Viceroy, of New Spain, who in 1794 happened to be the Sicilian Marqués de Branciforte, was always addressed as Excelentísimo Señor (Most Excellent Sir).

The Marqués de Branciforte was the brother-in-law of Manuel Godoy. His Christian name was Don Miguel de la Grúa y Talamanca. He was Viceroy of New Spain from July 12, 1794, to May 31, 1798, and is known for his love of adulation and for enriching himself. Lázaro Lamadrid Jiménez, O.F.M., *El Alavés Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, O.F.M. (1736-1803)* (Alava: Diputación Floral de Alava, 1963), I, 347, and II, 206; José Bravo Ugarte, *Historia de México* (México: Jus, 1941), Tomo Segundo, 106; Herbert Ingram Priestly, *José de Gálvez: Visitor-General of New Spain, 1765-1771* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916), p. 389.

The King of Spain was Charles IV (1788-1808) whose reign was distinguished by his weakness, his wife's infidelity, and the administrative corruption of the officialdom — all of which led to Napoleon Bonaparte's takeover of Spain and consequently to the independence of Mexico from the mother country.

6. Costansó's location for both San Diego and San Francisco Bays are very accurate. See Rand McNally, *The International Atlas* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1969), I, 179.

7. A league in Spanish California was the equivalent of 2.6 miles.

8. I was unable to find any data on Brigadier Pablo Sánchez except that he, Costansó, and Fidalgo wrote a report on the sending of supplies to California. It is entitled "Informe sobre los auxilios que se propone enviar a California, 1795." See *Noticias y documentos acerca de las Californias,* p. 239.

9. For a brief description of the emergence of English trade in the Northwest see Manuel Servín, "The Act of Sovereignty in the Age of Discovery" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1959), pp. 146-154.

10. "Nutka" of "Nutca" is the Spanish equivalent for Nootka in English. Nootka Island, located about two-thirds up the western coast of Vancouver Island, lies at 49 degrees 32 minutes North Latitude and 126 degrees 42 minutes West Longitude. See Rand McNally, *The International Atlas,* I, 151.

11. For the Nootka Controversy that emerged in 1789 when Martínez seized the British ships anchored at Nootka and dispatched Colnett in chains to Mexico City see Manuel P. Servín, "The Act of Sovereignty in the Age of Discovery," pp. 154-176, and William R. Manning, *The Nootka Sound Controversy* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905).

12. It is difficult to ascertain what rank a *piloto graduado* held. According to the *Ordenanzas de su Magestad para el Govierno Militar Político, y Económico de su Armada Naval: Primera Parte que contiene los Assuntos pertenecientes al Cuerpo General de la Armada* (Madrid: Juan de Zúñiga, 1748), p. 161, there were only three types of *pilotos de número* or pilots assigned to each department: first, second, and assistant pilots. The *Ordenanza* does not mention *pilotos graduados.* But it is plausible that a *piloto graduado* was a commissioned officer acting as a *piloto* (see *Nuevo Diccionario Ilustrado de la Lengua Española* [Barcelona: Editorial Ramón Sopena, S.A., 1968], p. 535) or a *piloto* temporarily assigned to a naval department (see *Ordenanzas,* p. 165).

13. I believe that this is Pedro Jimínez de Góngora, Duque de Almodóvar del Río, who was born at the beginning of the eighteenth century and died in Madrid in 1794. He represented Spain in the Courts of Russia, Portugal, and England. After returning to the Spanish Court, he dedicated himself to literary pursuits publishing *La Década Espistolaria sobre el estado de la literatura en Francia* in 1781. In 1792 he was elected as president of the Royal Spanish Academy of History. *Encicopedia Universal Ilustrada, Europeo-Americana* (Madrid-Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe, S.A.), IV, 851; XXVIII, 2788.

14. Ricardo Wall, who was Irish descent, was born in Nantes, France (date unknown), and died in Granada in 1778. He began his career in France as an officer in the Navy, but then, influenced by Cardinal Alberoni, joined the Spanish Navy in 1718. He distinguished himself in Sicily as a naval officer, but later entered the Spanish Army where he rose to the rank of lieutenant general. He was highly esteemed by both Ferdinand VI and Charles III where he was respectively Secretary of State, (1754-1759) under the former and Secretary of War (1759-1763) under the latter. Although he was a definite participant in signing of the Family

Compact, he tried to maintain a distance with the French. In 1763 after the Treaty of Paris was signed, he retired. *Diccionario de Historia de España* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1952), II, 1458.

15. Nueva Galicia, or as it was technically known "Reino de Nueva Galicia, was a province of New Spain that today would include the present-day status of Aguascalientes, Jalisco, a great portion of the state of Zacatecas, and considerable territory of the states of Durango and San Luis Potosí. *Encilopedia Universal,* XXXVIII, 1443.

16. For the establishment of the Naval Department of San Blas see Enrique Cárdenas de la Peña, *San Blas de Nayarit* (2 vols.; México: Secretaría de Marina, 1968), and Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967).

# Irish-Born Champion of the Mexican-Americans

*By* FRANCIS J. WEBER

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During the half century immediately preceding World War II, the Catholic Church in the United States stood almost alone in the field of constructive effort in behalf of Mexican-Americans exiled from their native land for religious and political reasons.[1] John J. Cantwell was outstanding among the leaders in this movement and even before his death the Archbishop of Los Angeles was acknowledged as "one of the greatest benefactors of Mexicans in the United States".[2] In addition to providing for the spiritual needs of the thousands of immigrants flocking to Southern California, the Irish-born prelate was a rigorous supporter of measures aimed at reforming the social and economic conditions among the exiles.

The benign religious liberalism of Porfirio Díaz had come to an abrupt halt with the dictator's expulsion in 1911. That prolonged period had provided a peaceful interlude for the Church in Mexico, inasmuch as few of the anticlerical statutes were enforced. With the subsequent emergence of General Venustiano Carranza, however, unmistakable signs of animosity against the Church became obvious once again.

Most of the pressing difficulties facing the People of God in Mexico during the 1920's, could be traced to that nation's Jacobine constitution which, among a host of other restrictions, banned the teaching of religion in public and private schools. Churches were secularized and civil officials authorized to determine the number of priests alloted to given areas. In an effort to alienate allegiance from the Pope, President Plutarco Elías Calles took the ultimate step of installing a defrocked priest, Father José Joaquín Pérez, as "Patriarch of the Mexican Catholic Church." The country's chief executive further crippled religious activities by expelling all foreign-born priests and religious.

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The adverse world opinion aroused at the sight of Mexico's wholesale religious persecution was reflected in a letter of sympathy issued by the United States hierarchy at their annual meeting in 1926. Therein, the bishops noted:

> The fight may be long; it may give many martyrs to the Church and to mankind ... but the long suffering and peace-loving Mexican people, too long the victim of ruthless militarism, will emerge from this trial a stronger and purer nation, with a constitution founded on the true principles of justice and liberty, and a government that honestly respects the rights of the people.[3]

So serious did the situation eventually become, that the Papal Secretary of State, Pietro Cardinal Gasparri, observed, "Nothing like this persecution has ever been known in history, not even in the first centuries of the Church."[4]

Because of its proximity to the international border, the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego provided an attractive haven for Mexican-Americans seeking the human rights denied them by their own government. By 1923, there were an estimated 150,000 exiles residing in Los Angeles County alone and the tremendous influx of peoples gave no indication of subsiding.[5] In the two-year period, 1925-1926, another 80,000 found their way to Southern California.

These victims of religious oppression were received in California's Southland with characteristic hospitality. Bishop John J. Cantwell appealed for co-operation with plans to alleviate the dreadful plight of the newcomers to the eight southernmost counties of the state, noting, "We, in Los Angeles, so close to the Mexican border ... cannot be indifferent to the dreadful persecution which is now being waged not only against the Catholic Church but against the most fundamental principles of Christianity." The bishop then proceeded to score Mexico's irrational policy towards foreign-born priests, religious and sisters, wondering aloud how any man-controlled government could, in the twentieth century, "wage a relentless war against women, whose lives have been consecrated to the service of Almighty God, whose vocation is to help others unto a better citizenship and to a place in the Kingdom of God." Cantwell observed that the same officials had exhibited their "implacable hostility to religion, no matter in whom personified." After enumerating some of the more flagrant abuses heaped upon the faithful in Mexico, Cantwell optimistically predicted better days ahead, noting that "the Catholic Church has seen the birth and the beginnings of many governments and she has stood at the bier of those who were the bitterest persecutors."[6]

Almost immediately after his installation as Bishop of Monterey-Los Angeles, Cantwell had organized, within the Associated Catholic Charities, an Immigrant Welfare Department to co-ordinate activities among the foreign-born population of the diocese, 75,000 of whom were Mexican-Americans residing in the city of Los Angeles. The facilities of the existing El Hogar Feliz were temporarily utilized until quarters could be provided in more commodious surroundings.[7] On February 22, 1920, the bishop blessed the newly relocated settlement house, placing it under the spiritual patronage of Santa Rita. The need for a clinic in the neighborhood, 89 percent of whose inhabitants were Mexican-Americans, soon became evident, and facilities were expanded for that exigency. Within a relatively short time, people from all over the city were taking advantage of the medical services offered to all applicants, irrespective of race or creed. The routine followed at Santa Rita, the first of the diocesan clinics, was recorded by a contemporary writer:

> The first patient to enter is a young Mexican woman with a baby in her arms and another child, just able to walk, hanging to her skirts. She is not quite certain of the proper procedure, as she timidly comes in, but she is given a smile and a friendly greeting by the young lady who comes to meet her, and who hands her a slip on which the figure 1 is printed. As it is apparent that this is her first visit, she is seated at the right of the doorway. In a few minutes she is asked to come to the desk. Here the District Visitor, whom she has frequently seen in her neighborhood, speaks to her in her own tongue. The Visitor records her name, age, address and various particulars, together with the general symptoms of her illness — the chief of which she describes as *"dolor de cabeza"* — without the patient's realizing that her "history" is being taken. She is then given a card bearing her name and a certain number. This number, she is told, is her "chart" number, and she is cautioned to bring the card with her each time she visits the clinic. She returns to her seat, giving place to an old Italian woman, who seems to be suffering greatly as she limps to the desk. . . .
>
> In the meantime, many others have arrived, and have been seated on the left side of the room — the right side being reserved for those making their first visit. The majority are Mexicans, but Americans, Italians, Austrians, Syrians, and natives of France, Spain and Ireland are also in evidence. Every age is also represented, from babies in arms to grandparents.

> Through the speaking tube connected with the clinic comes the signal that the patients holding cards 1 to 10 are to be sent over. The little Mexican mother breathes a sigh of relief as she is told that she may go and see the good doctor.[8]

Probably the single most effective of the many programs initiated for the Mexican-Americans in Southern California during those troubled years was the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, founded at Los Angeles, in March of 1922, as a direct outgrowth of the welfare work being conducted among the Mexican and Italian immigrants.[9] The need for supplementing the religious instruction given at the few existing settlement centers was paramount, insofar as these latest immigrants generally reflected a moral and religious background noticeably inferior to that of earlier arrivals from the more predominantly religious parts of Mexico. Cantwell's stress on educational expansion was based on his views that "in making Catholics better Catholics we shall make them better citizens."[10]

One of the first projects of the Confraternity was a diocesan survey to determine the number of Mexican-American children actually residing in the jurisdiction. Questionnaires were sent to public school authorities asking for the total enrollment and the number or percentage of Mexican-Americans in attendance.[11] Armed with the results of that poll, the bishop and his collaborators were able to concentrate CCD work in the areas of greatest demand. While the involvement of the Confraternity was not confined to Mexican-Americans, it was among that segment of the population that its earliest and most far-reaching accomplishments were realized. Within thirteen years after its foundation, the CCD had in operation 211 centers with 1,279 teachers instructing 28,500 youngsters. Allowing for its obvious deficiencies, the Confraternity answered in the only way possible for the educational exigencies of a distressing situation.

The clerical "sparkplug" for Catholic involvement in the Mexican-American apostolate was the Reverend Leroy Callahan who directed Confraternity activities between 1927 and 1937. Quickly and efficiently the Illinois-born priest built up a model organization around which almost every other diocese in the nation eventually patterned its activities. Father Callahan was especially sensitive to the needs of Mexican-Americans and felt that working among them was "as truly missionary as the evangelization of the heathen, with the sole difference that we are laboring amongst those who are Catholic by baptism."[12]

The Juventud Católica Feminina Mexicana, a union of fifty one Catholic action groups, and the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine were unique in the over-all plans undertaken for the Mexican-Americans in the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego. Generally, Bishop Cantwell's programs were designed to function within the already established framework of the Bureau of Catholic Charities. This he envisioned as a means of avoiding any ethnical overtones to an apostolate demanding the co-operation of all Catholics, irrespective of their own particular background.

The structural outline of the Bureau of Catholic Charities and its successor, the Catholic Welfare Bureau, shows clear evidence of the bishop's expansionary plans. Already by 1929, the bureau had inaugurated five diocesan community centers with year-round recreational, educational, and social programs for Mexican-Americans, along with courses in home-making and athletic and club activities for the younger generation. Classes augmenting the public school Americanization were started throughout the diocese, and community centers took on the character of neighborhood clubhouses and rallying points for Mexican-Americans in individual districts. "The history of these institutions," noted one authority, "is the story of the effort of the Catholic people of Los Angeles to care for the spiritual and social needs of the stranger in their midst."[13]

Some idea of the magnitude of Bishop Cantwell's blueprint for the Mexican-Americans is reflected in his *Relatio* to the Holy See for 1929, in which he reported that no fewer than seventy churches and chapels had been erected within the preceding five year period, and over $750,000 expended on various related projects for the exiles of religious persecution. The prelate also noted that for the third consecutive year, 52 percent of the total funds used by the Catholic Welfare Bureau had been allocated for Mexican-Americans.[14] With all the inflated demands placed on the diocese by the massive influx of peoples, both clerical and lay, it is to the credit of the Southland's Catholics that their response to the added financial strain was universally generous.

The *arreglo* of 1929 between the President of Mexico and that nation's hierarchy restored a measure of peace to the country and made possible the return there of a great majority of the clergy, religious, and laity.[15] Except for a flareup in 1935-1936, the persecution gradually subsided, as many of the more severe statutes against the Church fell unto desuetude.

Departure of the refugee clergy, however, triggered other reverberations since few of the priests born in the United States were conversant enough in the hispanic tongue to care adequately for the spiritual needs of those Mexican-Americans deciding to take up permanent residence in the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego. While Bishop Cantwell had foreseen that problem several years earlier by emphasizing in synodal directives the grave obligation of knowing Spanish,[16] he found it necessary to repeat that mandate in more forceful language. Recognizing as he did that the immigrants brought to the diocese the finest traditions of their own land in music, art, in sculpture and in painting,[17] Cantwell focused attention towards encouraging involvement by clerical aspirants in all the lingual and cultural aspects of Spanish-American life. Provisions were accordingly made to allow seminarians to spend time in Mexico preparing for work among those natives of that land still living in the United States, 86 percent of them in California.[18]

The sensitivity toward incipient racial prejudice characteristic of the bishop accounts for his insistence that the recorded accomplishments of the Catholic Welfare Bureau omit any mention of the ethnical background of those receiving assistance; nonetheless, a breakdown in one year's work, does indicate, if only imperfectly, the extent to which the bureau was involved in alleviating the needs of the poor, the greater majority of whom were Mexican-Americans. In 1930, for example, a sum of $114,193.88 was expended for family relief, that money going to 7,543 families or 35,005 persons. A total of 38,078 homes were personally visited by representatives of the bureau in that year alone.[19] Impressive as these figures are when repeated on an annual basis, such statistics fall far short of telling the whole story of Catholic involvement since most of the work for the Mexican people centered around individual parishes.[20] Financed as much of it was at the parochial level, the greatest portion of the benefits received by the Mexican-Americans in those years received no recognition among diocesan tabulations.

In addition to programs of direct assistance, social workers from the

Catholic Welfare Bureau continued their practice of circulating among the eight counties of Southern California after 1934, "interpreting American ideals, laws, customs, and social facilities to the newcomers; seeking to better their material condition, and endeavoring to protect them as much as possible from the ruthless exploitation of the unscrupulous type of industrialist and land owner."[21] The policy adhered to by those associated with the bureau merely implemented Bishop Cantwell's avowed philosophy that "neither capitalism, nor industrialism, nor agriculturism has any right to use the labor of these people for the achievement of its end."[22]

In 1936 the Holy See asked a number of bishops in the southwestern part of the nation to submit a survey of the Church's work among Mexican-born people in their respective jurisdictions. Cantwell's response estimated at 182,300 the number of those in the 44,350 square mile Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego falling into that category. Of these, about a third had fixed residences while the rest were migratory seasonal workers,[23] described by one priest as people who knew no home but the family Ford, no language but their own, no education save the smattering they have acquired from the schools of Calles or his predecessors, and no religion save what they have been able to preserve of the Faith handed down from their fathers.[24] The bishop continued his report, noting that 126 churches and missions with 46 resident pastors were devoted exclusively to caring for these people. One hundred and seventy-nine vacation schools and 300 year-round Confraternity centers were imparting religious instruction to 28,000 Mexican-American children in the diocese. There were eleven convents of exiled sisters, and, under the auspices of the Catholic Welfare Bureau, nine community houses and recreational headquarters had been established. Four clinics and two day nurseries were also in operation. Seventy-eight priests were working among the Mexican-Americans exclusively while another 140 devoted at least part of their time to that apostolate.[25] Such was the multiphased program at the time Los Angeles was advanced to metropolitan status with a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction formed at San Diego.

### CALIFORNIANS IN MEXICO

The influence of the archbishop was felt in areas other than those subject to his immediate control. Dedicated as he was to restoring the image of Mexico as a Catholic country, the prelate did not hesitate to embroil himself even in the political arena on those few occasions when he felt some tangible benefit might accrue to the Church. The most outstanding of his forays along these lines, and one which enhanced considerably the Church's role on the international scene, was his determination to visit publicly the National Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City.

Such an opportunity presented itself in 1940, when Luis Murillo Cornado, a special envoy of Mexico's Ministry of the Interior, approached Archbishop Cantwell with an invitation to pontificate at the Pan American ceremonies honoring his nation's patroness in the Distrito Federal on December 12. Cantwell immediately contacted officials at the United States Department of State about the advisability of accepting the invitation and was told that "it would be most imprudent for the Archbishop of Los Angeles to accept any left-handed invitation" lest it be construed as strengthening "the stand of Avila Camacho whose election has been declared legal at a time when the evidences were that if there had been a *bona fide* election in Mexico, he would have been defeated."[26]

Cantwell then sought to circumvent the matter by contacting a frequent house-guest and close friend, Luis María Martínez, the Archbishop of Mexico City, with the suggestion that as temporary Apostolic Delegate to the Republic, an invitation from his office could be accepted on a purely religious plane, thus avoiding the diplomatic entanglements altogether. Martínez eagerly complied, and the two prelates decided to schedule the journey for October of 1941. At the same time, Cantwell alerted the State Department of his plans, noting that he hoped his visit would "help out the good neighbor policy of the eminent President."[27] Anxious to widen the interest in his journey, the archbishop addressed an invitation to his people suggesting their participation in his forthcoming trip, noting that "it was from that venerable land the first missionaries came to California, and built the Missions which are our greatest historic landmarks." Cantwell observed that "a visit by our people to the City of Mexico would be a gracious compliment to the Hierarchy and Catholics of a country that has sent so many of its children to California."[28]

Response to the invitation was encouraging and a representative party left Los Angeles by rail on October 6, arriving in the Mexican capital three days later. A large crowd of dignitaries at the depot heard the archbishop, whose see-city boasted of more Mexicans than any other in the world, save the Distrito Federal,[29] describe the deep-rooted admiration that he and the people of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles felt for their neighbors to the south. He said:

> During our stay among you, we hope to enjoy your incomparable climate, to feast our eyes on the indescribable natural beauty of your landscapes, and to revivify our spirit, vexed by the sad situation in which the world finds itself, during these days, with the contemplation of the magnificent monuments which are not only the treasured inheritance of the Missioner and the Conqueror of old, but the fruit of the heroic sacrifices and gigantic efforts of the succeeding generations of your noble race.[30]

A solemn pontifical Mass was celebrated on October 12, at the National Basilica, some few miles from the center of the capital. Every inch of the vast edifice was crowded for the event, and an estimated throng of 50,000 assembled outside the church for the colorful ceremony. The President of Mexico was represented by a military delegation, the first time since Maximilian that troops had marched into the basilica for a religious event. The entire diplomatic corps attended, and, at the conclusion of the Mass, Archbishop Cantwell again spoke of his delight in being in Mexico:

> This visit which we are now paying your beautiful country is for us the realization of a long-felt desire to come among you, and to kneel before the miraculous image of Our common Mother, Holy Mary of Guadalupe, under whose kindly smile Our Beloved Archdiocese of Los Angeles was born, when a century ago, our predecessor, Francisco García Diego y Moreno, received episcopal consecration before her altar.[31]

The archbishop was asked to speak on the National Broadcasting System, and, October 17, delivered a short discourse which was beamed to parts of the United States as well as throughout the Mexican Republic. Showing himself no stranger to history, Cantwell observed, "The missions built in California are our title deeds to show to the newcomers that we of the Old Church are in California by right of inheritance." He concluded by praying that "the traditions that made Mexico distinguished and honorable in the past may be perpetuated in a fuller measure in years to come, and that the glory of days gone by may be surpassed" by the pledge of the future.[32]

Cantwell's insistence on observing ecclesiastical protocol seems to have had its desired effect. One observer noted that the sight of the Archbishop in his full prelatial robes, and forty American priests in their clerical garb, created quite a stir in Mexico City. The Archbishop was particular to wear his robes on all occasions and remarked to the reporters who acosted him that he was happy to go to Mexico now that his religious habit was not offensive to anyone.[33] From all indications, the visit was favorably received in all quarters. The *Excelsior,* in a long editorial, viewed the journey as signalling a new era in Mexican-American relations, as well as a thawing in that country's delicate Church-State problems because of Cantwell's visit. The editorial said, "The peoples of America are going to be given a proof that we know how to behave as human beings and that we are worthy to be numbered within the circle of the cultural nations"[34] of the world.[35]

## PROSELYTIZING

The inroads made by Protestant proselytizers among the traditionally Catholic Mexican-Americans was a source of considerable concern, if not annoyance, to Bishop Cantwell from the earliest years of his episcopate. While offering, as early as 1919, "to work hand in hand with every rightly disposed social worker and with all good citizens in an endeavor to solve the problems of poverty, delinquency and citizenship," the prelate decried the activities of those "proselytizers who seek to tear out of the heart of the foreigner the religion which he has and which alone will save him from becoming an anarchist."[36]

Cantwell's plea went unheeded, however, and within a decade there were 144 proselytizing agencies in California. One priest assigned to build a church and school in a colony of 10,000 Mexican-Americans found himself confronted with no less than fourteen sects, all trying to evangelize the poor, uneducated immigrants.[37] The bishop, adamant in his attempts to combat such activities, observed that if he could only get the Mexican to understand that the efforts to evangelize him was an insult to his race, he would have advanced a long way toward counteracting proselytism.[38]

Recognizing the zeal of the proselytizers as "a challenge to the Apostolic spirit of our clergy",[39] Cantwell asked Father Augustine

O'Dea to prepare a study of the situation for presentation to a seminar held at Camarillo in the summer of 1942. In the mind of the prelate, acquainting the clergy with the major problems facing the 220,000 Mexican-Americans in the Archdiocese, and the 460,000 in the province,[40] would give added impetus to the existing program initiated for the clergy of learning the Spanish language and customs. The extensive survey presented by Father O'Dea and discussed by the priests and seminarians[41] did in fact result in renewed awareness of the need for additionally expanding the already vast network of archdiocesan facilities devoted to the Mexican-American apostolate.[42]

Cantwell's insistence on a long-term approach to the whole question of the Church's involvement in this particular area was based on the assumption that "the great number of Spanish speaking Catholics in our midst constitutes no passing problem." He recognized that

> Our proximity to the Mexican border, the demand of Mexican labor, the lack of immigration quota, *etc.*, makes it certain that there will always be with us great numbers of non-English speaking Mexicans. The tenacity of these people in adhering to their national spirit; their unwillingness to be assimilated racially; and their isolation in colonies will tend to make them retain their language.[43]

At the annual gathering of the National Conference of Catholic Charities in 1944, John R. Mulroy singled out Los Angeles and San Antonio as two archdioceses which had given and continued to offer "the best illustration of thorough-going Catholic effort to solve the problems that affect the well-being of our Spanish-speaking brethren." In particular, he noted that

> The Archdiocese of Los Angeles, with over a quarter of a million Mexican population, has made it obligatory on all seminarians to study Spanish; they must study the history of Mexico, Spain and South America. They must acquaint themselves with Mexican problems and with the social and economic conditions of these people in the Archdiocese. A Home Mission Board for the archdiocese requires the adoption of missions by wealthy parishes. Catholic papers in Spanish are circulated, and there is a Catholic Hour in Spanish over the radio. Many religious congregations work exclusively among these people, and one has a special seminary for training priests to work among them. The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine has 200 centers and a staff of 800 religious and lay teachers who instructed 36,000 this past year. Nine parochial schools are 100 per cent for children of Spanish-speaking parentage, and they have an enrollment of 4,000. Six parochial schools of over 1,000 pupils each, have a 50 percent Mexican enrollment. Many other Catholic schools have large numbers of these children. A large

part of the work of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, with its various branches, consists of rendering service to Mexican families and individuals. Eight child-caring homes care for their orphans and dependent children. There are two boarding homes for Mexican girls. One home, sponsored by the Catholic Big Brothers, cares for delinquent boys. Numerous boys' clubs are under the leadership of young men of Latin-American extraction. A special maternity hospital and clinic renders services to over 6,000 patients a year. A sanatorium for tubercular girls, two day nurseries, and seven settlement houses give some idea of the extent of the welfare program devoted chiefly to the Mexican population. A similar program exists in the Archdiocese of San Antonio and to a lesser degree in the Archdiocese of Denver.[44]

## THE FINAL YEARS

Archbishop Cantwell's reputation for sponsoring "every activity that has bettered in any way the condition of the Mexican population within his archdiocese,"[45] explains his longfelt anxiety for erecting "in this country a National Home Mission Organization"[46] to coordinate the Church's activities on behalf of Mexican-Americans. At the annual meeting of the nation's hierarchy in 1944, the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish Speaking was organized and, at that group's initial meeting on January 10, 1945, Cantwell accepted an appointment to the executive board as General Chairman.[47] He also complied with a request that a Los Angeles priest, Father John J. Birch, assume the position of full-time executive secretary for the committee.

Undoubtedly, hypersensitivity to charges of racial and ethnic favoritism which motivated Cantwell's masterplan of expanding existing agencies, in preference to establishing new ones, has caused, in certain areas, a partial distortion of his extensive contributions to the Mexican-American apostolate. Only a misunderstanding of the prelate's operational technic, and the results accruing therefrom, could account for the unfortunate and highly erroneous conclusion of one writer that in California "the Roman Catholic Church, aside from building churches and stationing refugee Mexican priests in Spanish-speaking parishes, did little to aid materially or spiritually" the exiles from across the border.[48]

The record would be far from complete, however, if the appraisal of Cantwell's accomplishments were allowed to rest on mere statistics alone, no matter how impressive. A truly balanced account must also take cognizance of the human elements involved, chief of which was the affection harbored for the bishop in his role as almoner for the Catholics of Southern California. Of all the virtues, gratitude is often the most overlooked, possibly because its admission implies a state of reliance which human nature seldom cares to admit. In the case at hand, however, the record abounds with public acknowledgements of the benefits extended to the Mexican-Americans by their Catholic hosts in California's Southland, and some of them deserve a place in the annals.

The first public manifestation of affection for Bishop Cantwell came late in 1929, when the prelate was notified by the Holy See that the Mexican hierarchy, in union with the Apostolic Delegate to the United States of Mexico, "urgently request that we honor you with a particular sign of our benevolence on account of the extraordinary graciousness you have most generously shown" to the Mexican people during the days of their religious persecutions.[49] Pope Pius XI acceded to the request by naming the Bishop of Los Angeles-San Diego to the honorary position of Assistant at the Papal Throne. According to the local Catholic newspaper, "the principal motive of the Mexican bishops . . . was to secure signal recognition for the kindly manner in which the hundreds of priests, religious, and faithful were cared for when they came here seeking refuge from persecution."[50]

In further recognition of the sanctuary offered by Bishop Cantwell to seven members of the Mexican hierarchy, 130 of its priests and over 200 nuns,[51] Archbishop Pascual Díaz and the Canons of the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe voted unanimously to present Southern California's prelate with the Golden Rose of Tepeyac, one of Mexico's highest awards and one rarely bestowed on nonresidents. The presentation was made as a solemn gesture of gratitude for Cantwell's "great hospitality and charity toward exiled Mexican priests during the years of persecution."[52]

Another acknowledgement of the esteem felt by Mexican-Americans was the selection of Los Angeles as the scene for the International Marian Celebration in 1937. A crowd of 65,000 gathered in the approach to Calvary Mausoleum for the first solemn canonical coronation ever held in the United States. Diplomatic representatives from twenty-one Latin-American nations participated in the ceremonies during which Archbishop Cantwell placed the golden crown, an exact replica of the one used at Rome by Pope Benedict XV in 1919, upon the picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe.[53]

While the many ramifications of the Church's influence among Mexican-Americans in various areas of the nation have yet to receive adequate attention, even a cursory study of John J. Cantwell's contributions substantiates a view uttered almost a quarter of a century ago to the effect that the Catholic Church in the Southwest and on the coast has expended more concern "on Her beloved Mexican people than on any other group in our population."[54]

## NOTES

1. Robert E. Lucey, "Are We Good Neighbors?" in *The Spanish Speaking of the Southwest and West* (Washington, 1943), p. 15.

2. Frederick J. Zwierlein, "Mexican Problems," *Catholic World,* CLVII (June, 1943), 275.

3. *Our Bishops Speak* (Milwaukee, 1952), pp. 188-189.

4. "Notes and Comments," *Catholic Historical Review,* XIII (January, 1928), 734.

5. William E. North, *Catholic Education in Southern California* (Washington, 1936), p. 188. According to one recently released survey, "immigration from Mexico reached a peak in the decade of the 1920's, with close to 500,000 reported as entering [the United States] on a permanent basis." Mexican immigrants accounted for 9% of the total number in the first half of the 1920's and 16% in the latter half. See Leo Grebler, *Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and Its Implications* (Los Angeles, 1965), p. 21.

6. John J. Cantwell, "Pastoral Letter," reproduced in *The Tidings,* July 23, 1926.

7. See Francis J. Weber, "Happy Home Aided Neglected Children," *The Tidings,* June 4, 1965.

8. W. E. Corr, *The Santa Rita Settlement* (Los Angeles, *c.* 1920), pp. 8-10.

9. Dennis J. Burke, *The History of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the Diocese of Los Angeles [sic], 1922-1936* (Washington, 1965), p. 18.

10. *Associated Catholic Charities Report, 1919* (Los Angeles, 1920), p. 11.

11. Veronica M. Spellmire, "Helping to Safeguard Their Heritage — The Laity's Part," *Proceedings of the National Catechetical Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, 1940* (Paterson, 1941), p. 498.

12. "A New Missionary Field in California," *The Missionary Catechist,* VII (January, 1931), 1.

13. Thomas J. O'Dwyer, "The Mexican in Our Midst," *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Session of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1929* (Washington, 1929), p. 195.

14. *Relatio Diocesis Angelorum-Sancti Didaci in California Facta Sacrae Congregationi Consistoriali, A.D. 1929* (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 16.

15. By 1934, Cantwell estimated that 70,000 had returned to Mexico. See *Relatio Diocesis Angelorum-Sancti Didaci in California Facta Sacrae Congregationi Consistoriali, A.D. 1934* (Los Angeles, 1934), p. 22.

16. *Statuta Diocesis Angelorum-Sancti Didaci* (Saint Louis, 1927), p. 5.

17. Archives of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles (hereinafter referred to as AALA), John J. Cantwell, Circular Letter, Los Angeles, August 9, 1941.

18. Augustine O'Dea, *Notes on Protestant Proselytism* (Los Angeles, 1942), p. 40.

19. *Report of the Catholic Welfare Bureau of the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego, 1930.* (Los Angeles, 1931), p. 15.

20. Linna E. Bresette, *Mexicans in the United States* (Washington, n.d.), p. 22.

21. *Catholic Welfare Bureau of the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego, 1934* (Los Angeles, 1935), p. 6.

22. John J. Cantwell, "The Organization of Catholic Charities," *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Session of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1927* (Washington, 1927), p. 12.

23. AALA, John J. Cantwell to Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Los Angeles, October 31, 1936.

24. John J. Crowley, "Bringing The Church to 90,000 Churchless Catholics," *The Missionary Catechist*, IV (May, 1928), 5.

25. A sociological breakdown made in 1931 revealed that in Southern California, the Mexican-American element was composed largely of unskilled laborers meagerly paid by public utility concerns for temporary construction work or by farmers for seasonal fruit-picking. See *The Catholic Welfare Bureau of the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego, 1931* (Los Angeles, 1932), p. 11.

26. AALA, William F. Montavon to John J. Cantwell, Washington, D.C., October 3, 1940.

27. AALA, John J. Cantwell to Sumner Wells, Los Angeles, August 28, 1941.

28. AALA, John J. Cantwell, Circular Letter, Los Angeles, August 9, 1941.

29. AALA, John J. Cantwell, Circular Letter, Los Angeles, August 28, 1940.

30. *El Siglo de Torreón,* October 9, 1941.

31. AALA, Mimeographed statement of John J. Cantwell (Los Angeles, 1941).

32. *The Tidings,* October 17, 1941.

33. AALA, Joseph T. McGucken to Joseph Byrne, Los Angeles, October 29, 1941.

34. Issue of October 18, 1941.

35. The memory of the archbishop's visit to Mexico City was perpetuated in the Hospedería Sacerdotal "John J. Cantwell" which was inaugurated early in 1943. Located on the Avenida de Insurgentes, the 300-year-old edifice was dedicated to the Archbishop of Los Angeles, *"una verdadera inspiración del cielo y merecedora de las bendiciones de Dios."* See Agustín S. de la Cueva, *Hospedería Sacerdotal "John J. Cantwell"* (Mexico City, 1943), p. 2.

36. *Associated Catholic Charities Report, 1919* (Los Angeles, 1920), p. 11.

37. Related in Linna E. Bresette, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

38. AALA, John J. Cantwell to Henry P. Del Cano, Los Angeles, November 30, 1925.

39. AALA, John J. Cantwell, Circular Letter, Los Angeles, August 28, 1940.

40. *I.e.*, the area comprising the Archdiocese of Los Angeles and the Dioceses of Monterey-Fresno, San Diego, and Tucson.

41. Augustine O'Dea, *The Mexican Problem and Its Latin American Background* (Camarillo, 1942), p. 12. Proselytizing in California dates from 1875, when the Methodist Church began its activities among Mexican-Americans.

42. In 1942, the city of Los Angeles alone accounted for eighteen parishes and six missions exclusively serving the Mexican-American community. Another twenty-three parishes and as many missions were operating beyond the see-city. Such figures omit, naturally, any record of the vast number of Mexican-Americans attending churches outside their own area or who resided in predominantly Anglo centers.

43. AALA, John J. Cantwell, Circular Letter, Los Angeles, August 28, 1940.

44. "The Catholic Answer to Racial Minorities," *Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Conference of Catholic Charities, 1944* (Washington, 1944), pp. 104-105.

45. Sister Candida, S.H.N., "Opportunities of the Teaching Sister to Help Foster a More Kindly Attitude towards Mexicans," *Proceedings of the Sixth National Catechetical Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, 1940* (Paterson, 1941), p. 503.

46. AALA, Joseph T. McGucken to Solomón Rahaim, S.J., Los Angeles, January 27, 1943.

47. Rosemary E. Smith, "The Work of the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking on Behalf of the Migrant Worker" (Washington, 1958), p. 4.

48. Manuel P. Servín, "The Pre-World War II Mexican-American: An Interpretation," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLV (December, 1966), 328.

49. AALA, P. Cardinal Gasparri to John J. Cantwell, Rome, September 30, 1929.

50. *The Tidings,* December 20, 1929.

51. These figures are based on a report to the Apostolic Delegate in 1927. See AALA, John J. Cantwell to Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, Los Angeles, August 18, 1927.

52. See Francis J. Weber, *Readings in California Catholic History* (Los Angeles, 1967), p. 248.

53. See *La Voz Guadalupana,* III (September, 1937), Edición Extraordinaria.

54. Robert E. Lucey, *op cit.,* p. 15.

A. P. GIANNINI
*Inscribed:* "Sincerest good wishes to my very good friend and co-worker Dwight Clarke.

A. P. Giannini
S.F. 9/24/41"

# The Gianninis — Men of the Renaissance

### *By* Dwight L. Clarke

The bells of St. Mary's Cathedral on Van Ness Avenue in San Francisco were tolling slowly for the funeral Mass of Amadeo Peter Giannini, founder of the Bank of America, the largest bank in the world. It was June 6, 1949. A vast throng overflowed the wide steps leading up to the doors of the Cathedral where they were unable to find places within the huge interior. A much smaller procession of mourners drove out to Holy Cross cemetery. Three of us who were honorary pall bearers rode together. Two of them were officers of the Bank of America: Carl F. Wente and Clark S. Beise. Each of them was destined to become president of the bank, Wente in 1952 and Beise in 1954.

Besides the relatives and friends, those gathered at Holy Cross were mostly employees of the bank and of Transamerica Corporation and subsidiary companies.

On returning to the city, I went in to the bank. I heard that L. M. (Mario) Giannini, A. P. Giannini's son, then president of the Bank of America, was in his office and stepped in to offer my sympathy. He urged me to sit down; it was evident that he wanted to talk about his father. He seemed in a relaxed and thoughtful mood as if all business problems had been swept away.

"I was glad to see you out at the cemetery," he mused. "A. P. was very fond of you and would have liked you to be there. I appreciate your coming up from Los Angeles and going out to the grave."

Assuring him that after so many years of association with his father, of course I wanted to show him this last mark of respect.

"You were one of his boys on whom he always felt he could depend," Mario went on. "You knew him for many years."

I had first met his father in 1916, quite a number of years before I became an employee of any of his institutions. After seeing A. P. on a few occasions at that time, our paths had not again crossed for eleven years. I spoke of how typical it was of his father's phenomenal memory that when we once more met, he remembered me instantly.

As we continued these reminiscences, I voiced the conviction that A. P. Giannini, through his successful development of branch banking, had both hastened and strengthened the growth of California. The economic, socio-

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logical, and political consequences of the great depression of the thirties would have been far more traumatic without California's branch banking systems. In the long view of history, that might prove to have been the greatest of A. P.'s achievements.

"I view your father much as I think of our early California pioneers of Gold Rush Days," I told Mario. "He was a pioneer too, rather than the sterotyped modern business man, distinctly an individual and a throwback to an earlier age. In many respects he resembled the great Florentines of the Renaissance, men like Lorenzo de Medici. Though probably impossible of proof, with his Italian blood, he may well have descended from some of them, because, like them, he was bold, courageous, and possessed of vision."

It was characteristic of Mario Giannini that he listened intently to this characterization of his father as a pioneer. He expressed neither agreement nor disagreement, but seemed to be weighing my words. Only when I described A. P. as a throwback to the Renaissance did his face lighten. The suggestion very plainly fired his imagination.

"I've never thought of that before," he smiled. "You may be right. His parents did come from that part of Italy. It's an interesting theory."

With the added perspective of the intervening years, my observations to Mario on the day of his father's funeral remain fixed in my mind. My long business association with A. P. Giannini included equally close and continuous contacts for many years with two other important members of his family — Mario, and A. P.'s brother, Dr. A. H. Giannini. It follows logically that any appellation befitting A. P. because of racial descent must apply to others of his blood; otherwise my thought is nothing more than a whimsical figure of speech. Actually, recalling the personalities of Mario and Dr. Giannini reinforces my theory — if we can so dignify this idea. Both in similarities and differences of temperament and behavior, they resembled Renaissance Florentines just as strongly as did A. P. Giannini.

During the interval since A. P.'s death, science has pushed back the frontiers of our knowledge of the field of genetics. Such discoveries have been made about heredity — the nature and functions of genes — as to make even such lay speculation as mine more credible. 1968's Nobel laureates in physiology, Drs. Marshall M. Nirenberg, H. G. Khorana, and Robert Holley, have identified and described the tiny packets of hereditary information contained on the chromosomes in each of the human body's billions of cells. According to those savants, these packets tell each cell what to do and when; in short, our genes not only govern how our bodies function, but determine largely who and what each of us is, and how we look and behave.

Therefore, when one studies the traits and performances of an outstanding figure like A. P. Giannini, and reads also of the characteristics displayed by famous leaders of his race in past centuries, it now seems less fantastic or imaginative to claim kinship for Giannini with men of the Renaissance. In the light of the new genetics, such assumptions become more reasonable; the gap between knowledge and guesswork a trifle less unbridgeable.

Historians describe the Italians of the Renaissance, the Medicis, Sforzas, Strozzis, and even such contrasting figures as Machiavelli and Savonarola, Dante and Boccaccio, as bold, brave, restless, and energetic. They delighted in life and therefore responded to the humanism that was ushering in the modern world. They were impatient with outworn ideas. They respected precedents only so long as they were relevant to the present. The spirit of inquiry and experimentation stirred them more than dogma and abstract ideology. Theirs was the pragmatic approach and therefore to most of them, the end justified the means, even when tempered by their ancient faith. The more worldly among them, and most were worldly, respected the Church and its teachings more from custom than because of passionate devotion. Admittedly there was a darker side. As one authority on the Renaissance has put it: "Italian society exhibited an almost unexampled spectacle of literary, artistic and courtly refinement crossed by brutalities of lust, treasons, poisonings, assassinations, violence."[1] That was written in the nineteenth century about humanity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. From today's vantage point — more than two-thirds through the twentieth century — how far have we progressed? As one ponders this question, the Italians of the Renaissance seem closer to modern man.

After that first acquaintance with A. P. Giannini back in 1916, our next meeting occurred in August, 1927, immediately after his purchase of the Security Trust Company in Bakersfield, of which I was vice-president and manager. A. P.'s emissary, a friend of each of us, had approached me with the initial offer, and the deal had been closed soon afterwards. In the course of the negotiations, this intermediary had told me that A. P. remembered me and wished me to continue to run the local institution if he purchased it. Immediately after the conclusion of the transaction, the same man suggested that I go to San Francisco to get better acquainted with Mr. Giannini.

At that time A. P. had his office on Montgomery Street near Clay. I think it was in the quarters of the old Bancitaly Corporation (predecessor to the later Transamerica). His desk was on a raised platform at the rear of a large room where many clerks and stenographers worked at desks facing him. When I entered, the scene reminded me of a schoolroom with the teacher at his desk. Another caller was seated on the platform with A. P., who waved me to a chair; he would see me in a few minutes.

After we had shaken hands, A. P. startled me by recalling the circumstances of our first meeting. He remembered the man who had introduced us and named several others who had been present, even mentioned a short auto ride a few of us had taken together.

This was very typical of A. P.'s memory. His was a photographic mind on which men's faces, their words, and actions seemed to be indelibly etched.

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[1] 14th Edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Vol. XIX, p. 128.

Lawrence M. (Mario) Giannini
*Inscribed:* "To my good friend and associate Dwight with sincere regards.
Mario Giannini

Dr. A. H. Giannini

One instance of this occurred while A. P. and I were visiting the South Pasadena branch of the Bank of America in the 1930's. We were examining some papers at the manager's platform. A customer paused in the lobby and sought the manager's attention. He had recognized Mr. Giannini and was anxious to greet him. A. P. stepped into the lobby to meet the man.

"I know you don't remember me," the customer began, "but I met you long ago in San Francisco and wanted to . . ."

As was his habit on such occasions, A. P. vigorously thrust out his hand but raised the other to interrupt the visitor.

"Don't tell me your name," he spoke briskly, tilting his head back a little and his eyes narrowing as if to concentrate. "You are (calling his name). You sold us the steel for our Bank of Italy building at Clay and Montgomery in San Francisco in (naming the year). You had a brother in business with you; you lived over in Berkeley. How are you? It's good to see you again." The effect was heightened by the deep, resonant tones of A. P.'s voice that conveyed certainty as well as sincerity.

Amazement filled the man's face. He could only stutter and stammer his astonishment. As we walked out of the branch later, I asked A. P. the secret of his memory; did he use some formula or association pattern? He gave me a startled look as if the question had never before occurred to him. He admitted he could not explain it. It was plain that this invaluable knack was wholly instinctive and unconscious.

This exceptional memory posed certain problems for Mr. Giannini's employees. As one bank officer cynically remarked: "Any liar working for A. P. had better have a mighty good memory." Even the truthful, straightforward associate found it wiser to remember the details about any subject about which he had talked to A. P. over a period of time. He was quick to pounce upon any discrepancy in two versions of the same story. Variances irritated him.

To return to that visit in the Bancitaly office in 1927, A. P. talked of many things. Initially he questioned me about the bank he had just acquired, and commented on his plans for incorporating it into a new statewide branch system he was about to start. His talk was largely rapid fire queries and observations that dealt briefly with many topics and personalities, but never descended to small talk or gossip. He then expressed his personal philosophy:

"I don't want to make a lot of money for myself," he shook his head vigorously. "I have enough now for my family. I can only eat three meals a day. I can only wear one suit at a time. We only need one house to live in. Why be greedy? If I amassed a lot more wealth, I would just be piling up worries for myself. No, Clarke, I want to run a good, clean bank, treat our customers right, make loans that will do the most good in the communities where we operate. If we do that, the men and women who work for our bank can be sure of a decent living all around."

This sounded very clear and simple; deceptively simple, later observations taught me. "This is a plain, blunt, restless, and energetic man," I told myself. "I like him already. I believe we understand each other. We can get along." What impressed me most were his directness, positiveness, and rapid mental processes. The first two attributes seemed to rule out guile or deviousness. His deep, full tones poured forth his thoughts so rapidly that the hearer was apt to become breathless as he strove to keep pace with the speaker's mind.

After the lapse of many years, there is nothing I would change in my reactions to my first real interview with A. P. Giannini. But there is much to add to complete the picture, for the plain, simple man was also a highly complex personality. I have seldom, if ever, seen anyone to compare with him.

The history of banking in California records few careers so full of melodrama and crises. His restless energy drove him to use each advantage gained as a spring board for further progress. While not avaricious, he enjoyed the heady wine of success. Staid, orthodox competitors looked askance at some of his methods. They were sure that any success so gained must prove temporary. They repeatedly predicted disaster for A. P.'s enterprises — and eagerly awaited the fulfillment of their prophecies. Meanwhile, they feared, disliked, and distrusted him.

It was instinctive for A. P. to move swiftly and boldly to carry out his plans. Scornful of technicalities which delayed or hampered him, he occasionally proceeded so rapidly as to lay himself open to charges of disregarding — his enemies called it violating — some statutory requirement. He was so convinced that what he was doing was right and in the interests of his stockholders, depositors, and borrowers, that he resented many regulatory procedures as senseless obstructions in his path. If a supervisory authority withheld approval on an application for a new bank charter, a permit to open a branch, or any other administrative step — and seemed to be dragging his feet, A. P. was quick to ascribe the delay to an enemy's plot. With him, a suspicion could grow quickly, and his reaction was apt to be more forceful than diplomatic. Because it was foreign to his nature to run away from a fight, he undoubtedly precipitated a few which more patience and tact might have avoided.

Inevitably these outbursts enlivened the columns of the press. A. P. was always good copy. Often the stories grew in the telling. Many were blown up from rumor with scant regard for the facts. They all kept A. P. in the limelight, but also portrayed a different man than the real individual.

In time some of his opponents believed he possessed an insatiable appetite for more and more banks which by every manner of trick and device he could merge into his financial empire. It is not my intention to write a full chronicle of these clashes with officialdom nor the heated contests with various competitors. That would constitute too lengthy a story. More than one such account of them is already in print.[2] However some of the details that came to my own attention more fully reveal the A. P. Giannini I knew.

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[2] Julian Dana, *A. P. Giannini, Giant in the West* (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1947), and Marquis and Bessie Rowland James, *Biography of a Bank* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1954.)

When his wrath was aroused by serious opposition, he was no respecter of persons. One memorable incident stands out. A. P. had vigorously supported F. D. Roosevelt in the 1932 Presidential campaign. Perhaps he had not anticipated any special favors from the incoming administration, but at least he felt certain of a fair break on some of the unsettled questions at issue between his banking interests and the Federal Reserve Board and the Securities Exchange Commission. A number of his leading adversaries in California, especially in the Los Angeles area, had been ardent supporters of President Hoover, and it was like him to blame some of his setbacks on their behind-the-scenes influence in Washington. He was confident that the New Deal would be a fair one so far as he and his bank were concerned. Therefore it came as a severe shock when Henry Morgenthau, Roosevelt's Secretary of the Treasury, not long after taking office, issued certain rulings that A. P. felt were prejudiced and contrary to the assurances he had received. He grabbed a telephone, called Morgenthau in Washington and bluntly accused him of giving aid and comfort to A. P.'s enemies, despite their strong support of Hoover. Morgenthau hotly denied the charge and the conversation degenerated into a shouting match which A. P. ended by virtually calling the Secretary of the Treasury a liar!

Dr. A. H. Giannini was in the room while his brother was on the telephone and remarked afterwards, "I don't know where A. P. gets his courage!" The Doctor dramatically lifted his hands to the heavens, "I'm his brother, but I am afraid to beard the lion in his den like that. Think of calling the Secretary of the Treasury a fraud and a liar! I never knew anyone like A. P. I don't believe he was ever afraid of anyone in his life, man or devil or God Almighty! They must have put something in him that they left out of George and me." (George was the youngest of the Giannini brothers.)

Morgenthau from that time on proved to be a deadly enemy, but I never heard of A. P. voicing regrets for his outburst. If he thought a man was a liar or a knave, he relished telling him so to his face. The fact that the other fellow stood in a position of great power, of life and death over an institution perhaps, did not in the least deter him. Maybe this was courage, maybe rashness, but it was certainly A. P. Giannini.

Unfriendly competitors in California and hostile officialdom in Washington were untiring in battling the Giannini interests. In 1938 the Securities Exchange Commission filed sensational charges against Transamerica Corporation, alleging among many things that its accounting methods were unsound and showed fictitious profits. Worst of all was the release by the SEC of pretrial publicity containing many unproven allegations. Their source of information was plainly the Treasury Department, still presided over by Secretary Morgenthau. Despite anything that Washington could contrive, this case fizzled out in 1947. Meanwhile, however, Morgenthau and Marriner Eccles, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, sought other ways of checkmating Mr. Giannini. This continued after Morgenthau's retirement, following President Roosevelt's death. Now, according to one historian's report of the litigation, Eccles and the Federal Reserve Board declared themselves determined "to proceed against . . . Transamerica and the Bank of America by means of every weapon and agency within reach."[3]

The Board charged Transamerica with violations of the Clayton Act. It named one of its members, Rudolph M. Evans, as "hearing officer" to pass on the charges. J. Leonard Townsend, the same attorney who had pressed the unsuccessful attacks before the Securities Exchange Commission, represented the Board. Since Commissioner Evans was not a lawyer, an attorney in the employ of the Federal Reserve Board sat at his side throughout the many hearings in Washington and San Francisco, to advise him whenever he made a ruling.

These hearings were still in progress when A. P. Giannini died in 1949, and the bitter and protracted battle would go on until the United States Court of Appeals handed down its verdict that overturned the Federal Reserve Board's decision against Transamerica and the Bank of America. That appellate court judgment also vindicated both A. P. and L. M. Giannini, though, ironically enough, after both of them were dead, Mario having passed away on August 14, 1952.

In those final court proceedings, one of the most telling arguments against the Federal Reserve Board's rulings was that it had excluded a great amount of evidence and testimony offered by the defendants to disprove the monopoly charge.

I was one of the witnesses so excluded. While I had no personal interest in the outcome, other than as a small stockholder .of Transamerica and had retired from my position as president of one of the corporation's subsidiaries, I resented the arbitrary rulings handed down by Evans. Invariably they echoed Townsend's polemics. I still have a note made immediately after returning from the hearing. Mr. Sam Stewart, Transamerica's counsel, called me to the stand at the start of one day's proceedings. I was allowed to state my name, address, occupation, etc., but thereafter sat silent while the attorneys argued over the admissability of any of my testimony. My note just mentioned says: "Evans reminded me of the dummy, Charley McCarthy, with the whispering attorney at his side as Edgar Bergen!" It was a travesty of one-sided rulings and arbitrary exclusion of any and all testimony favorable to Transamerica or the Gianninis. For example, Evans refused to let me testify to what I had reported to A. P. Giannini on certain matters concerning which letters were offered in evidence. Townsend objected that *my* testimony about what *I* myself had said to Mr. A. P. Giannini would be "hearsay!"

Mr. Giannini of course was no longer living, but Mr. Stewart had offered letters which A. P. had written to me and carbon copies of my letters to him. These dealt with sundry negotiations about the purchase of various banks. One exchange of letters seemed to me especially strong evidence against the ogre Townsend was striving to draw of an insatiable Giannini hungering for more and more banks. A broker had offered me a modest-sized block of stock in a well known bank in one of the larger centers of Southern California. This was during the depths of the depression and the price asked was quite low. The number of shares was far less than control, but it could form a nucleus for later additions so I wrote A. P. about it. His reply instructed me not to pursue the matter. His letter is no longer available, but in effect it said, "This is a good bank. We always should have a good competitor in sizeable centers where we have branches. We don't want to monopolize all the banking in major towns."

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[3] James, *Biography*, p. 498.

Here I was on the witness stand, the man who had transmitted the offer, and here was A. P.'s reply over his signature. Not a word of it went into the record. There were other instances of excluded correspondence and barred telephone conversations that placed A. P. Giannini in a favorable light, but Townsend, Evans and the latter's whispering mentor would have none of them.

Did not both law and equity favor the re-creation of the *whole* A. P. Giannini, not a two dimensional caricature redrawn by Mr. Townsend's biased hand? I literally sat silently on the witness stand for hours, and finally departed without having uttered a word beyond my initial identification. This experience lowered my respect for law and lawyers! Finally in July, 1953, the United States Court of Appeals set aside the Federal Reserve Board's adverse three-to-two decision, declaring that it had failed to prove its monopoly charges against Transamerica. Subsequently the Supreme Court declined to review the case. That final verdict belatedly restored some of my respect for the law.

Unlike many executives, Mr. Giannini was not content to sit in a private office from which he could issue orders to keep his subordinates busy. He always insisted on having a desk in a large open room, surrounded by other workers, where he could not only see what transpired but be accessible to high and low, both within the organization as well as chance callers from outside it. When the new headquarters of the Bank of America was opened at 300 Montgomery Street, a large, beautifully furnished office at the rear of the executive department was prepared for Mr. Giannini. He is said to have viewed it with a frown and stamped out of the room, snorting, "Get me a desk out *here*!" I visited him "out here" many times but cannot recall ever seeing him in his sumptuous private office.

He expected hard, diligent effort by the officers under him, but when tedious, gruelling tasks had to be performed, he would jump into the fray with energy and enthusiasm and work long and hard to get the job done. In the process he frequently wore out younger associates and at the end of a long day would seem the freshest and most bouyant of the laboring group.

He was blessed with a strong constitution and his bodily energy renewed itself after a minimum of rest. Mrs. A. P. Giannini told me once that her husband seldom slept more than four or five hours a night. By five in the morning he would be fully awake long before the rest of the household, and eager to start another day's activities. This habit may have survived from his years in the produce commission business where the daily round began before dawn.

This work habit was especially exemplified following his victory in his famous proxy battle of 1932 with Elisha Walker for the control of Transamerica and the

Bank of America. That struggle was in itself enough to exhaust a normal man. But no sooner had he won his victory than A. P., once more in control, resolved to make his own examination of the bank's assets and devise the ways and means necessary to collect slow or doubtful loans, rebuild confidence and morale in its staff, and above all restore its standing with the public.

Such a tour of inspection and investigation was anything but a pleasing prospect in 1932. Banks were failing all over the country. Public utilities and large industrial enterprises were going bankrupt. Many factories were closed, unemployment increasing, commodity prices, especially in agriculture, plummeting to all time lows. Doubt and gloom pervaded men's minds everywhere.

Yet A. P. proposed to visit every branch of the Bank of America in the entire state. This was not to be formal, publicized visitations resembling a triumphal procession, but a small group of two or three bank officers headed by A. P. which would call on each branch without previous announcement to inspect all loans and the credit information, appraisals, etc., supporting them.

This series of visits started in the late summer of 1932, and continued through the fall and winter months with only brief interruptions. A. P. personally visited every branch, took an active part in the examination and worked as assiduously as any of his "crew." He was the only officer who covered the entire state in this process, for while two or more associates went along on every trip, these changed as he moved from region to region. The Bank of America was divided into seven districts then, and the senior officer in charge of loans and operations in each district usually was one of the party. Sometimes one or more of the top executives in San Francisco were also included. It was my lot to accompany A. P. on several trips through Southern California during which we visited nearly a hundred branches.

The typical day started by our calling on a branch about eight o'clock in the morning. (Usually we had arrived in town the previous evening.) The startled manager, whom A. P. invariably remembered, would be asked to join us in a conference room, with his notes and loan papers, to assist us in our review. He was plied with questions and instructed as to what action to take on every questionable item. Most of these local bankers were loyal, well-meaning men. Sometimes they had fallen into a rut, or been overcome by pessimism and a sense of defeat.

In smaller branches, A. P. looked at every loan and discussed it briefly. In larger offices, we divided into teams of two, which worked simultaneously on the heavier volume of paper. Regardless of which group discovered major problems, a general discussion would ensue about them. While A. P.'s avowed purpose in making these tours was to familiarize himself with the bank's condition, there were additional benefits derived from them. The capacity and degree of experience of the branch officers were tested in a most practical way. Also, before we terminated each call, A. P. had given the local officers a stimulating exhortation to help him get the bank restored to the best possible condition. He made these men feel they were fellow workers on whom he depended. He would be watching their performance, he would always be on call to help them if they encountered situations where he was needed. If their performance matched his hopes, he promised that he would remember that. It was interesting to contrast the gloomy, sometimes fearful mood we encountered when we entered a branch, with the cheerful, buoyant air that prevailed as we took our departure.

At each branch visited, Mr. Giannini took time to walk through the work space and greet the employees. Almost everywhere there would be a few of them whom he remembered from previous visits and called by name. Nearly as often he would astonish some clerk or stenographer by mentioning details about her family.

Usually before our departure from one branch, we would telephone to the next bank we planned to visit. If the hour was late, we would ask the manager to wait for us and not to set the time lock on his vault, so that we might examine his loans. It was our practice to work around the clock, finishing the day at eight or nine in the evening. This routine would be repeated for several days. It was hard, tedious work that called for concentration and rapid decisions.

When these tours were finished, A. P. Giannini certainly knew all he needed to know about the bank whose control he had recaptured and what had to be done to set its house in order. I doubt if any chief executive of any major bank in our time ever conducted such a practical and thorough examination of his institution.

Yet even though this was an arduous, time-consuming chore devoted to serious problems, it had its lighter moments which A. P. enjoyed as much as any of us. I recall one branch in a small farming community where there was only a moderate number of loans. In this file we found quite a few cases of unsecured notes of elderly borrowers who, though honest, were apparently not very successful. As such instances kept recurring, A. P. impulsively launched into a harangue about the folly of lending money, especially on an unsecured basis, to elderly people. "Men as old as I am," he shook his head and referred to himself by an uncomplimentary name, "if we haven't made our stake before fifty or so, we're not good risks. Remember that and quit lending money to old men." Almost immediately after this outburst, we picked up a note for a few hundred dollars, dog-eared and long past due. So many payments of interest and occasional nominal reductions of principal had had to be endorsed upon it that two or three additional sheets of paper had been stapled to the original note to provide space. A. P. fingered it gingerly and snorted, "Who is this fellow?" "He has a small chicken farm just outside of town." "How old is he?" "Oh, about sixty-eight, I guess." "Sixty-eight!" A. P. pushed back his chair, "Damnation, man, you should know better than to make an unsecured loan to an old man like that!" "But, Mr. Giannini," the manager protested almost tearfully, "he *wasn't* an old man when I loaned him the money."

A. P.'s guffaw must have been heard a block away. "Come on, boys," he jumped up, "he wasn't an old man when the loan was made! Let's get out of here."

A very different incident occurred on one of these tours which narrowly missed ending in tragedy. Probably very few persons besides A. P. himself ever knew of it.

He made this round of visits to the branches in a seven passenger Cadillac driven by his chauffeur. A. P. viewed auto travel as a necessary but time-consuming interruption of business. Therefore, he demanded a car capable of high speed and a driver who would transport him from place to place in the shortest possible time. On such rides he preferred to sit at the driver's right, so that he could best view the passing countryside, soil and crop conditions, the condition of the cattle grazing near the roadside. These details he studied and stored in his memory.

On the occasion in question, four of us were en route from Santa Maria to Lompoc in the fall of 1932. As usual, A. P. was in the right front seat, Carl Wente in the rear seat behind the driver, and I was in the right rear seat. Apparently, A. P., when he entered the car, had not closed the door tightly. (This was before the days of seat belts!) As the car, going at least sixty miles an hour, swung around a sharp curve to the left, the right hand door flew open and A. P. lunged outward. His left hand grabbed the rear of the seat, while I leaned forward and clutched his shoulder. Because of the wide space required by the jump seat, I had only a slight hold on his shoulder. In less time than it takes to recount it, he managed to pull himself back with his left hand. No one had said a word. The driver slackened speed while A. P. slammed the door. Carl Wente and I exchanged startled glances. He looked pale and doubtless my face was white too.

In that split second, the terrible possibilities raced through my mind. Had Mr. Giannini been hurled onto the pavement at the speed we were going, he almost surely would have been killed. With the proxy fight just behind him and all his unfinished plans for rebuilding the bank, the consequences were too staggering to contemplate. I do not recall that we ever discussed his narrow escape. It was like him never to refer to it.

In 1932 a few of us spent several days in the San Diego area with A. P. where there were many branches of the Bank of America and a large volume of loans to review. Together with several of the local officers, we worked long hours so as to finish our task by the weekend. On Saturday night, A. P. invited the crowd to drive down to Tijuana for a good dinner at the best café across the border. This was during Prohibition and as soon as we crossed the line, A. P. led us into a large bar. While very fond of good California wines, he was no man for strong drinks. I do not recall ever seeing him take a high ball or cocktail. On this occasion he led off by ordering a very unusual pre-dinner drink, a Grand Marnier. After every one had downed his choice, A. P. ordered a second round. As the glasses were raised, he suddenly became very serious and set his own down.

"Now, fellows," he admonished us, "let's not make a habit of this!" In the laughter that followed, his was the loudest.

On that same visit to San Diego, A. P. had driven over from El Centro with

Will Morrish and Carl Wente. I drove down directly from Los Angeles to meet them at the El Cortez Hotel. Arriving in the evening, there was a note inviting me to have breakfast with them in the parlor of their suite. I shall never forget my astonishment on walking into the room. Here already seated at the table were the Chairman of the Board, the President and an Executive Vice-President of the Bank of America, fully dressed from the waist up but all of them in B.V.D.'s from the waist down! In the long hot day in the Imperial Valley their trousers had become badly wrinkled, so they had sent them out to be pressed before they retired. The valet had not brought them back in time for breakfast, but A. P. would not let a detail like that delay the business of the day.

I have spoken of A. P.'s fondness for wine and very properly emphasize California wine. Giannini was undoubtedly the best unpaid promoter of California wines that the state has ever known. On his frequent trips to New York and Florida, he habitually ordered wine with his meals. Woe to the feckless waiter who served him anything other than a California vintage. That café would be certain to have California wines in its cellars the next time A. P. Giannini was a patron.

Naturally California vintners appreciated this super-salesmanship. One of them expressed this in a most gracious manner in the fall of 1934. A. P. invited me to accompany him to a dinner in his honor that the Italian Vineyard Company was giving at the Guasti Vineyard near Rialto. He had asked his hosts to include the two executive vice-presidents who supervised the southern districts of the Bank of America. James P. Normanly had charge of all the branches in the city of Los Angeles; I was in charge of all of them in the ten southern counties outside the city limits of Los Angeles.

Thus Normanly and I were among the twelve guests at this party in A. P.'s honor. The banquet, for it proved to be so elaborate as to merit no less a term, was given in a beautiful two-storied dining hall with hand carved panelling on the walls and ceiling. No cocktails or highballs preceded the dinner, but with each course, wine was served, especially chosen to accompany that particular food. Whoever planned the menu must have been a gourmet par excellence, for the well-balanced meal was delicious. Each guest must have consumed considerable wine, but even so, the diners while pleasantly stimulated showed not the slightest sign of intoxication.

On this occasion, A. P. Giannini's innate courtesy manifested itself. Everyone present, save Normanly and myself, was of Italian blood. A. P. sat at one end of the table with Normanly and me on either side of him. The group chatted gaily in Italian and addressed most of their remarks to Mr. Giannini. Each time one of them did so, he would raise his hand: "Speak English — these friends of mine don't understand Italian. What was it you were saying?"

In the Presidential campaign of 1932, A. P. Giannini, as previously noted, was most outspoken in his support of the Roosevelt ticket. I was in A. P.'s company a great deal during that campaign and its prospects and developments were repeatedly discussed at mealtimes or as we drove from branch to branch. I had been for Herbert Hoover ever since he first ran in the Presidential primaries in California in the 1920's, and made no secret of the fact that I planned to vote for him in November. A. P. missed no chance of showing me the error of my ways. He said he was surprised to find so intelligent a man so blind to the shortcomings of the Hoover administration and the necessity for a change. Didn't I know that all our bank's enemies were backing Hoover? When was I going to wake up, etc., etc.? Some of it was said in raillery, even ridicule, but never was there any hint that my position in his organization depended on my political loyalties.

While on the defensive, these sallies did not really embarrass me. Of course, when Roosevelt swept the country, A. P. was jubilant. "What did I tell you we'd do to your man Hoover?" he cried out the first time he saw me after the election. I let him exult and held my fire; this was one of those rare times when I was going to have the last laugh.

Months wore into years and A. P. became first surprised, then disillusioned about the new administration. Before the next election, his battles with Secretary Morgenthau had completely alienated him. On one occasion, probably during the 1936 campaign, he burst into a tirade against these treacherous bureaucrats and double-dealing politicians. Didn't I think the country had gotten its fill of them, etc., etc.? Now it was my turn to gloat. "Welcome to our party, A. P.," I laughed, "at last you have seen the light. Remember I have been against them all the time. I don't have to change. I'm glad to find you're on our side." He gave me a startled look, snorted a sort of half chuckle and abruptly changed the subject.

His fondness for banter and repartee frequently showed itself in his contacts with the staff. More than once loan officers triumphantly reported the final collection of a troublesome loan. Quite evidently the subordinate hoped for commendation for his successful efforts. "Huh," A. P. would snort, "that was a good loan." "A good loan, A. P.?" would be the aggrieved answer. "Why that has been listed as doubtful or a work out for years. The bank examiners wanted to charge it off as a loss!"

"I don't care, if it hadn't been a good loan, how in hell could you have collected it, my boy?" this last with a hearty laugh that foreclosed further discussion.

Despite his tireless energy and devotion to hard work, he could relax and enjoy life too. Here again, did he not resemble the ancient Florentines? For years his favorite place to lunch was Louis Fashion's restaurant on O'Farrell Street just west of Powell in San Francisco. There he had a special table where he would be joined by several of the bank's officers. Al Sbarboro, William Blauer, George Panario, William Harrelson, and Louis Ferrari were frequent lunch companions. Occasionally an old friend from outside the bank like Ash Stuart would drop in. Unlike the practice so prevalent in today's San Francisco business circles, cocktails or highballs were seldom if ever ordered at those lunches. There may have been wine occasionally for some. Good food in fairly modest quantities, prepared by the Italian chefs, was lustily consumed to the accompaniment of shop talk and news of the day, but far more important was the box of dice that was always brought by a waiter when A. P. appeared. That dice box seemed the chief reason for the group's going to lunch. It determined who would pay the check! You had to be a regular attendant to play. Occasional visitors at the table paid their own bills, but A. P. and the usual patrons from the bank gave that dice game all the serious concentration, accompanied by loud banter and boasting, that would have been aroused by the largest loan in business hours. If A. P. could "stick" one of his companions for the cost of the lunch, his delight knew no bounds. His hearty laughter proclaimed that as the most joyous moment of the day.

Giannini was basically a nonconformist. The fact that the great mass of mankind did something a certain way or avoided something else was no good rule of conduct. The reason for certain customs or regulations had to appeal as right and logical, or he would seek his own alternative course.

Naturally in a large organization such as the Bank of America had become, procedures and methods had to be standardized. A. P. himself must have subscribed to that in theory. What was known as the Rule Book, a loose-leaf compendium of instructions on every detail known to banking practice, thus had come into being. Usually it was closely followed by the staff. With his habit of direct approach to problems, A. P.'s recognition of Rule Book provisions was, to say the least, sketchy, and infrequent. On occasions when he would investigate some error or irregularity and give orders for its immediate correction, a subordinate might fearfully interpose that such action would violate a provision of the Rule Book. A. P. would scowl and mutter under his breath something that sounded like, "throw that damned rule book in the trash can and get this thing *fixed, right away!*" Orders of this sort were not always meant to be literally obeyed, but the wise bank officer usually knew when to cut through red tape and apply emergency measures.

The same swift and direct mental approach made Giannini less than respectful towards committees that tried to substitute their collective judgment for performance by an executive able to assume responsibility for decisions. On one occasion a branch under my supervision had badly outgrown its quarters. Based on our close study of the situation, two or three of us recommended enlargement of the banking room which was physically quite easy to accomplish. A head office committee many miles away disapproved our proposal and so we continued to have lines of people that overflowed the cramped space. I made a point of driving A. P. to that particular town to show him the situation. He gave the premises one look and angrily demanded, "Why don't you knock out that wall and make more room?" "Because the Bank Premises Committee has turned down my proposal to do just that." "What do they know about it," he growled, "how many of them have ever been in this branch?" "Very few," I admitted. "Then go ahead and do it yourself," he snapped, "if they object, refer them to me."

The branch was enlarged in short order, but at the cost of my own unpopularity with the Committee that had been overridden. This branch continued to grow at an accelerated rate and in a comparatively few years the bank had to erect another much larger building. By then, I was no longer an officer of the bank but derived some satisfaction from seeing our course vindicated.

Mr. Giannini deeply and instinctively distrusted bureaucracies, first because they stifle individual initiative and enterprise, and secondly because they cast a dehumanizing and deadening pall over mankind. His distrust of committees grew out of their tendency, often unconscious, to grow into bureaucracies. He recognized that committees are essential to formulate general policies and pass on plans and proposals, but inefficient and time-consuming when they undertake to administer routine operations and substitute their group self for the individual banker on the firing line.

Mr. Giannini always favored a positive approach to any problem. He disliked the word "No." In time there came to be known throughout the bank what was called the "A. P. Giannini turn-down." He disapproved of having his bank officers give a flat "No" to a request for a loan. "Try to find a way you can safely make it," he urged. If the applicant had a wife with means of her own, or a well-to-do brother, father or other relative, suggest that he try to get that person to sign or endorse the note. If the bank officer was not satisfied as to the man's integrity, suggest that he encumber a clear parcel of real estate or even pledge some personal property. Then if the would-be borrower still refused to follow any of these courses, A. P. felt that the banker could always say that he had agreed to make the loan, but that the applicant had not met the terms which the bank required for safe lending. He and not the bank had said "No."

Like all strong-minded men, he did not relish having his opinion challenged. But he was big enough to listen to the other man's views; if they were backed up by good arguments, he sometimes modified his previous judgment. He definitely respected any one who had the courage of his convictions. He did not want "yes-men" around him. He might suffer them in silence, but I think his keen mind usually spotted them for what they were. One classic example comes to memory.

As the bank began to emerge from the darker days of the early 30's, no one was more energetic in developing new business than A. P. Giannini. One day he hurried into the Los Angeles main office and told the manager, Joseph Rosenberg, that he had just come from a long visit with a certain prominent motion picture producer. "He needs a million dollars to complete a fine picture," he told Rosenberg, who had had much experience with the movie industry. "He promised us all his business if we'd let him have it. I told him we would lend him the million and for him to see you to fix up the papers." "Will he give us a lien on the film?" asked Rosenberg. "No, but he promised not to pledge it anywhere else, doesn't want to be tied up. It's all right, isn't it?" Rosenberg leaned back in his chair and shook his head. "A. P., I think that is a crazy idea!" "What do you mean, crazy?" He flushed angrily. Rosenberg stood firm, "I mean that in these bad times letting that hombre have a million dollars with no strings attached is inviting trouble. Just let him get in a tight spot, say the cost of the picture exceeds his estimate, which they have a way of doing, or even if he gets a good offer on some other deal and has to raise money, he'd think nothing of mortgaging that film to some other bank and leave us out on a limb. His unsupported promise not to pledge that film isn't good enough for me."

A. P. looked nonplussed for a moment. "All right," he finally grumbled, "when he comes in, make him fix it up the way you want it."

A junior officer who was within earshot came to me shortly afterwards. "Mr. Clarke, did you hear Mr. Rosenberg tell Mr. Giannini he had a crazy idea?" "Of course I did. What about it?" "I thought A. P. would throw anybody through the window who talked to him like that!" "Bert," I corrected him, "you're right that A. P. didn't like being told that. But deep down he knew that Joe Rosenberg was speaking his honest opinion, based on long, hard experience. If he meekly followed A. P.'s instructions, even when he was convinced it was unsafe, he wouldn't be worth a dime to the bank. The next time A. P. asks Joe's opinion, he will know that what he is told is what Joe believes is right. That's the only kind of opinion A. P. wants. But if you tell him he is mistaken about something, be sure you have the facts to back up what you say."

A. P. was impatient with details. When he had resolved on a course of action, he told his assistants to "wrap it up." They knew he expected them to do that thoroughly. He avoided the long debates that sometimes arose as to alternative methods of accomplishing an objective. His mind aimed straight at the final target. Lengthy preliminaries were not only time-consuming, but dangerous. Something might happen, someone might die, while days were lost in protocol or red tape. It became a byword in the bank that when an officer told a subordinate to carry out one of A. P.'s orders, if the junior asked when the task must be finished, he would be told, "A. P. wants it last week."

The same impatience prompted his dislike for lengthy letters. He may occasionally have read through some of them, but usually if a letter ran over one page, he would toss it to a secretary with a frown, "tell me what he says." The secretary would blue pencil the salient portions and these would be all that he read; yet he would remember the essentials of that communication often better than the man who had written it.

One might reason from these last observations that A. P. was careless about little things. It was one of the surprising complexities in his nature that he was more painstaking than the average executive. If he had to do something for himself, "good enough" was not good enough for him. I still have a couple of his letters illustrative of this quality. One is a carbon copy he sent me of a typewritten letter to a certain public official. Its closing words were "with sentiments and esteem." The next day came A. P.'s own handwritten note about the same matter. He ended: "Oh, Dwight, I noted that the closing of ______'s letter was in error which I didn't catch last night. The 'and' before esteem should have been 'of' ". Some blots on this note prompted him to add, "P. S., Bum hotel pen & ink,

A. P. G." Probably he sent a similar correction to the addressee of the original letter.

He enjoyed the heady wine of success, and sometimes I thought he valued his power itself far more than anything that power could get for him. He must have been aware of his personal magnetism. Several times reference has been made to the deep resonance of his voice; it sounded like the voice of authority. Bystanders would turn when he spoke, even when they did not know him. They were conscious that a leader was speaking. With all of his concentration on serious business, he retained to the last a fondness for using that magnetism when the mood seized him, much as many grown men revert at times to boyhood pranks. Russell Smith, one of the senior officers of the Bank of America during A. P.'s regime, told some of us of an incident illustrative of this side of Giannini's nature. Smith frequently traveled with A. P. on bank business in the East. On one of these trips, they were returning from New York to Chicago by train with several officials of a large national corporation, which was a valued customer of the bank. They were due to arrive on the opening day of the new Chicago Civic Opera House. A. P., as might be expected from his Italian blood, was very fond of opera and talked about the opening on the train. Smith was amazed when he invited all in the group to be his guests at dinner and then go to the opening night at the new opera house. When he could speak privately with his chief, Smith asked if he had reservations for that evening. "No," admitted A. P., showing no concern, "but I'll get them." Later at the hotel Smith heard him phone unsuccessfully to several ticket agencies. Smith himself began to worry as he envisioned these important customers turned away from the opera doors. A. P. seemed entirely unperturbed. They enjoyed a very good dinner and taxied to the playhouse. "I never saw such colossal nerve in my life," Smith shook his head as he recalled the episode. "A. P. walked straight up to the box office, wallet in hand, and announced "A. P. Giannini's six tickets, please. How much are they?" The man turned and ran through his reservations. "Sorry, sir, I haven't any in that name." "Come now," A. P. frowned, "they must be there. Here I am with the friends I've invited for to-night's opera. Please look again, young man." "What did you say the name was?" The ticket clerk was now visibly worried. "A. P. Giannini of San Francisco." This time the name boomed out with all the force for which its owner was famous. Red-faced, the man resumed his fumbling through the tickets, and at last passed six of them through the window, with an apology for keeping him waiting. "That's all right, my boy," A. P. was his most genial self as he paid for the tickets. "I never want to play poker with a guy who can bluff like that," Smith mused, "and they were good seats, too, right down in the fourth or fifth row center."

In closing these recollections of A. P. Giannini and his colorful career, something should be added about the man's appearance. He was tall, two inches over six feet, with broad shoulders, a large man but muscular and sinewy; his step always brisk and determined like his speech. He wore a short-cropped moustache. His hazel eyes were deep-set with flecks of darker color; usually they were partly closed but frequently twinkling as he indulged in quip or banter. He had abundant wavy dark brown hair that in his later years was iron gray but never white. Mr. Giannini shunned formal speech making; I am sure he was sincere when he protested that he was "no speaker." That may have been true as to prepared addresses, but for the quick give and take of spur of the moment occasions when he felt it necessary to express his opinion, he had no peer for holding an audience with vigor and fluency.

[Part II will appear in the December issue.]

*Impounded People: Japanese-Americans in the Relocation Centers.* By Edward H. Spicer, Asael T. Hansen, Katherine Luomala, and Marvin K. Opler (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969. 342 pp. $8.50.) Reviewed by Joe Grant Masaoka.

In 1942, ten tarpaper barracks cities arose in the isolation of deserts and wastelands and Arkansas bottom lands to house 110,000 individuals both immigrants and American citizens of Japanese ancestry — all lumped together as "enemy aliens." War with the country of their ancestral origin brought down upon them critical suspicions and doubts of their loyalty far greater than was experienced by German and Italian aliens. Western Defense Commander General DeWitt caused them to be put away summarily in these relocation centers. "Military necessity" was his rationale for disregarding their United States citizenship. The United States Supreme Court upheld him.

This eyewitness account written in 1946 with the immediacy of the detention period still fresh by four social scientists who were part of the administrative staff in these camps gives revealing insights into the lives, attitudes, responses, and feelings of 30,000 evacuee families. With expertise they bring back vividly the uncertainties, the doubts, the bitterness, the insecurities, and the turmoils which the center residents experienced. On the other hand, some of the inevitable bungling of government administrators in these strained and unfamiliar circumstances is depicted. These human administrative errors resulted in the ultimate human wreckage in which some evacuees gave up their United States citizenship.

In 1946 the War Relocation Authority published *Impounded People* as one of a series of its reports. In an attempt to bring it up to date and carry the imprimatur of an academic publisher Senior Editor Spicer has added an extensive Introduction. Now, nearly a quarter of a century after its initial appearance with much available research done in the interim on the subject, it was disappointing to find the author failed to round out his volume with the reasons and causes for the decision to evacuate.

This second publication deserves an expanded treatment to cover outside developments during the relocation period such as the political pressures upon WRA and which also affected evacuees in the centers. Also, the authors leave this unique phase of American history dangling by not including the present circumstances of the formerly impounded people. Moreover the resurgence of interest after a century since the first coming of Japanese immigrants would give this edition special value if it gave fuller treatment to that part of our history which other authors have titled "Our Worst Wartime Mistake" and "Americans Betrayed."

A footnote on page 7 in the Introduction detracted from the merit of the book by obvious historical errors. This footnote defines "Issei: Japanese immigrants forbidden to become U.S. citizens by the Oriental Exclusion Proclamation of 1907 — a ban not lifted until 1952." Issei were Japanese immigrants denied naturalization from the outset by court interpretation of Congressional legislation which had not extended naturalization to Japanese until 1952; although around the turn of the century a few Issei had been granted citizenship by judicial oversight. Moreover, the year 1907 refers to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 which was a negotiated United States-Japan understanding in which Japan agreed to cease issuance of passports to laborers coming to the United States. Finally, to clear up the last error in this garbled footnote: Oriental Exclusion was not a Proclamation but an Act and generally refers to the 1924 Immigration Act.

JOE GRANT MASAOKA is the administrator of the Japanese-American Research Project at the University of California, Los Angeles.

*Everyman's Eden: A History of California.* By Ralph J. Roske. (New York: Macmillan, 1968, 624 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Andrew Rolle.

Time was when there were only a couple of one-volume histories of California available. Now that the field is filling up, the writing of yet another history of the state calls for special attention to certain key organizational factors. A central problem is how to integrate into such a volume the large mass of monographic literature produced during the last ten years. Any historian of California must also decide what should be covered in a comprehensive history of America's most populous and varied state. Ideally, the author of such a volume should be a specialist in the history of California, if not in the history of the West. At least that has been the background of most historians who have tackled the job of writing the history of an area so complicated that Lord Bryce once called its problems similar to those of a nation rather than to a state.

Although a workmanlike earnestness comes through on every page, one can tell that Roske was trained in another area of history. Several reviewers have suggested that the volume should be used with caution, and have called attention to errors that mar its pages. If this is so, such inaccuracies are of a minor sort. But they are of the type that infuriate antiquarians and local specialists, with which California abounds. The book is actually more long-winded than inaccurate. It is a kind of grab-bag of miscellaneous data.

Although Roske attempts virtually no new interpretations, his book can be rewarding. Perhaps the strongest section is on California during the Civil War. Other eras, such as the fur trade period and the gold rush years, are less substantial. His publishers have given Roske the luxury of rambling for pages onto byways ordinarily closed to authors during this age of high publishing costs. One is tempted to believe that the book could have been improved by slimming, but the result would have been the jettisoning of dozens of interesting details. It is surely those details that won a prize for the volume last year. As to classroom use, individual professors will need to decide if the book's bulk hampers its usefulness. The suggested reading lists are, on the other hand, skimpy.

One ends with the feeling that better coordination of detail would have produced a tighter volume for both professional and lay readers. As to appearance, it is nicely printed and illustrated. Considering its bulk, the book is not overpriced, and most of us have already made room for it on our crowded bookshelf of Californiana.

**Andrew Rolle**, author of *California: A History* and also of many monographs on California and Western United States history, is the Robert Glass Cleland Professor of American History at Occidental College.

*Pioneer Jews of the California Mother Lode, 1849-1880: An Annotated Bibliography*. Compiled by Sara G. Cogan. (Berkeley: Western Jewish Center, 1968. 54pp. n.p.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

Sara G. Cogan and the Western Jewish History Center must be congratulated for respectively compiling and publishing this critical bibliography on a most ignored phase of Western United States history — the role of the Jews in developing the New West. It is precisely because the role of the Jews has been overlooked by historians of the West that *Pioneer Jews of the California Mother Lode, 1849-1880* becomes a most valuable historical tool. This bibliography, coupled with Norton B. Stern's *California Jewish History: A Descriptive Bibliography*, should be the stepping-stone for California and Western historians to begin incorporating into their works — both monographs and textbooks — the part played by the Jewish pioneers in the growth of the state.

*Pioneer Jews of the California Mother Lode, 1849-1880: An Annotated Bibliography* is both a well conceived volume and a very sound scholarly work. Following a very logical sequence, significant bibliographical entries are arranged into seven catagories: (1) Bibliographical Aids, (2) Contemporary Records, (3) Contemporary Accounts, (4) City and County Directories, (5) Family Histories and Biographical Sketches, (6) Historical Works: Jewish (7) Historical Works: General. The entries, of which there are 188 in the volume, are well annotated so that the researcher immediately knows what is contained in the cited work as well as what library has a copy. In addition to these two most essential research aids, the volume, which is beautifully printed, contains an appreciated index.

**Manuel P. Servín** is professor of history at Arizona State University.

*A Chronological History of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas, or Pacific Ocean*. By James Burney. Bibliotheca Australiana, 3-7. (Amsterdam and New York: N. Israel and Da Capo Press, 1967. 5 vols. 2267 pp. $110.00.) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

James Burney, a naval officer, compiled and edited the most complete history of voyages of discovery of his day. Employing original diaries as well as such sources as Herrera, Purchas, Hakluyt, Galvão, Ramusio, López de Gómara, Mártir Barros, Argensola, de Brosses, Acosta, Venegas, Couto, Grijalva, Alcedo, Dalrymple, and Vancouver in his first volume, Burney treats of the voyages of Magellan, Loaysa, Saavedra Cerón, Alcaçoba, Cortés, Alvarado, Camargo, Niza, Francisco de

Ulloa, Rodríguez Cabrillo, López de Villalobos, López de Legazpi, Mendaña, and Drake. Five maps, following the cartography of Arrowsmith and other eighteenth century cartographers, are also included in this volume which deals with the first "phase" of exploration and circumnavigation.

Volume II treats of those explorations which followed in the wake of the great circumnavigations. Original manuscripts as well as the works of Colín, Linschoten, Anson, Churchill, González Barcia, Torquemada, Byron, Morga, Cook, Cabrera Bueno, Kaempfer, De Bry, Meares, Gemelli Careri, Spilbergen, Antonio de Ulloa, Wallis, Carteret, and *Recueil des Voyages a l'Establissment de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales* are the sources for the voyages of Sarmiento, Cavendish, Merick, "Fuca," Richard Hawkins, Mendaña, Vizcaíno, Mahu, van Noort, Fernández de Quirós, Le Maire, Schouten, and Nodal and for the comparison of these voyages to more recent discoveries and place names. Fourteen maps appear in this volume as does an appendix containing a translation by Alexander Dalrymple of the Relation of Luis Báez de Torres of his voyage to New Guinea.

The third volume of Burney's work deals with European exploration and expansion to the Far East and Australia. Again original journals as well as the works of Gerritz, Colnett, Tasman, Charlevoix, Broughton, Dudley, Espinosa y Tello, and Le Gobien are used as sources for the discussion of the activities of the Dutch East India Company in Korea, Japan, Formosa, and Australia as well as the voyages of Nassau, Quast, Tasman, Brouwer, Kastrikom and Breskens, Hamel, Follada, "Fonte," Peche, La Roché, and Narbrough to the Pacific. Nineteen charts are used to illustrate this volume which also reproduces the journals of Tasman, Hamel and Narbrough.

Over one-half of volume four contains the "History of the Buccaneers of America," a basic source for the study of English, French, and Dutch piracy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dealing with both the Caribbean and the Pacific, Burney employs Fernández de Oviedo, Southey, Esquemelin, Ringrose, Dampier, Woodes Rogers, and Porter as his major sources. The latter half of this volume, which contains four charts, comprises the voyages of Strong, Gemelli Careri, Atondo, Kino, Paterson, Beauchesne, Halley, Dampier, Woodes Rogers, Frezier, Clipperton, Shelvocke, and Roggewein based upon journals, Churchill, Cooke, and the *Lettres edificants et curieux. . . .*

The final volume contains a treatise on the Carolinas, the voyages of Bouvet, Anson, Cheap, Bougainville to the Falkland Islands and a discussion of their ownership, and the apocryphal voyage of Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado. Also included are four charts, an addenda and a most useful and desireable index.

While Burney's work is, of course, subject to revision in light of historical research since its publication, it remains a basic source for the history of discovery between 1519 and 1764. Originally published in London by Luke Hansard between 1803 and 1817, this second edition is completely reproduced in facsimile on fine paper and is nicely bound.

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*A Bibliography of California Bibliographies.* By Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1968. 40 pp. $12.00.) Reviewed by Anna Marie Hager.

For the ardent book collector and librarian what more attractive piece of reading could be found than an expertly prepared and printed bibliography?

The Reverend Francis J. Weber, archivist for the Los Angeles Roman Catholic Church Archdiocese, has accomplished this unique feat. It is quite obvious that Father Weber joins with those of us who relish book catalogues and bibliographies a little more, perhaps, than other types of reading! In this small tome, sadly limited to but 500 copies, which will certainly restrict the audience of interested students anxious to discover the selective and choice items within, 128 titles have been discussed. Ten title page facsimiles enhance this valuable bibliography of bibliographies.

An informative introduction by Dr. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., prepares the reader for the nine pages of Father Weber's exciting comments prior to the formal *Checklist of California Bibliographies* which follows on the next thirty pages. The reader will be intrigued by the wide field Archivist Weber has covered and the locale of some of the listed items.

Designed by Ward Ritchie the book is bound in gray cloth and enclosed in a chartreuse slip case — giving dual delight to mind and eye — it also presents some interesting challenges for other bibliographers to follow. This is, indeed, a gem to use and to hold.

ANNA MARIE HAGER, a distinguished authority on California bibliography, is on the staff of *Westways.*

*Aqueduct Empire: A Guide to Water in California — Its Turbulent History and Its Management Today.* By Erwin Cooper. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968. 439 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by James M. Jensen.

One of the most persistent problems to be solved in the American West — and particularly California — is the development of an adequate water system. The booming population growth in California with its demands for enormous quantities of water has brought increasing challenges. It is because of these added demands for water caused by a population boom, a growth in agriculture and industry that this book is of timely interest and value.

The author tells the story well. An underlying problem that confronted each successive group of settlers in this state resulted from either too much or too little water. In consecutive chapters Mr. Cooper indicates how the people first used local resources to meet their needs; but soon the population increased to a point that water had to be imported. The needs of San Francisco were met by flooding the Hetch Hetchy Valley near Yosemite and the water being carried by aqueduct to the San Francisco Bay area. The water of the Owens River Valley was diverted to meet the needs of a growing Los Angeles. Subsequent growth brought greater needs which were met by tapping the Colorado River. The formation of the

Metropolitan Water District of Southern California assured communities whose local sources were depleted an adequate water supply. In the Great Central Valley, The Central Valley Project has helped to control floods and to divert water to the arid areas by canals, thereby opening a new agricultural empire. The culmination of these projects is the diversion of water from Northern California to Southern California as part of the California Water Project.

The author also gives attention to problems of water supply and management. The conservation and storage of water, the depletion of the ground water and its contamination — including sea water intrusion, the pollution of our rivers and lakes, the reclamation of water and its reuse — are all adequately covered and documented.

One emerges from reading this volume with an assurance that in the future, water will be adequately transported to areas of great need, that flood waters will be controlled, that the people will continue to demand and be provided a sufficient quantity and useable quality of water — all of which will guarantee a continuous growth of this state.

Mr. Cooper is well qualified to write about water, its history and management. He is a professional journalist with many years in the California Department of Water Resources. There are some minor errors in the book. To say that the records at the California Missions end in 1832 when the missions were secularized by the Mexican government is not accurate. The law was not enforced until 1834 and secularization continued until 1836. One might also question the statement that some "100,000 Indians camped and fished" around a body of water which was called "Lake Cahuilla" located in the area between Palm Springs and El Centro. There is no corroborating evidence to indicate such a large Indian population resided in that area.

The illustrations are well-chosen and adequate. The inclusion of an index and annotated bibliography add to the usefulness of this volume. Mr. Cooper has produced a book that will long be used as a basic reference in the field.

James M. Jensen is a member of the history staff at Citrus College, Azusa.

*The University of California: A Pictorial History.* By Albert G. Pickerell and Mary Dornin. (Berkeley: University of California, 1968. 326 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

It is indeed a sad commentary upon American education and society that a university as distinguished as the University of California has had to rely on a pictorial history to celebrate its first one hundred years. Aside from the noncommital illustration captions and the brief explanations, this volume has almost nothing to offer to the serious student of American education and of California history.

Nostalgic alumni, especially the graduates of Berkeley, and also those of the other eight campuses — San Francisco, Davis, Riverside, San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Irvine, and Santa Cruz — will be pleased. Recent graduates, current students, and the interested taxpayers will not. The reason for the latters' negative reaction, aside from the volume's pictorial and public relations aspect, is that the work is not really a history but simply a chronicle of the growth of the University, of the distinguished attainments of its faculty, and of the extracurricular activities of the students. Obviously, such an approach in this day is totally inadequate. Universities as institutions seeking and expounding truth should be the last ones to suppress the problems they encounter, produce, and even fail to solve.

MANUEL P. SERVÍN, professor of history at Arizona State University, is the coauthor (with Iris H. Wilson) of *Southern California and Its University: The History of USC, 1880-1964.*

*UCLA On The Move During Fifty Golden Years, 1919-1969.* By Andrew Hamilton and John B. Jackson. (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. 230 pp. $10.00.) Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

Every alumnus of UCLA will be stirred with nostalgic memories while reading this book. I know I was (B.A., Class of 1947). On the other hand, California taxpayers should find much that is equally rewarding. For in essence, this book is a pictorial history of UCLA which celebrates the institution's impressive achievements on the occasion of its Golden Anniversary. And there is much to celebrate. Alumni can take pride in what their alma mater has made possible in the broad area of university education, rising as it has from a small "southern branch" to the state university's second most important campus (it still ranks below Berkeley in a number of areas). Citizen taxpayers can take pride as well, for it was their dollars that paid the bills, built the buildings, made the education opportunities of the institution possible — and open and free to all. The UCLA story contains a singular truth: students and taxpayers can accomplish superb results if given the support, patience, and purpose. UCLA is a living example of that partnership.

Today UCLA ranks among the top twenty-five universities in the United States. Its academic standing has been heralded on many fronts, among them are the spectacular records achieved by its Schools of Medicine, Law, Engineering, Business Administration, its superb contribution in the broad area of the arts, the high achievement in the sciences and letters, as well as the rise of its university library to a peak of excellence. Actually, the lexicon of achievements has been accelerated in recent decades, partly because of the dynamic impact of former Chancellor Franklin D. Murphy, a man of extraordinary vision and sensitivity.

This book, extolling the phenomenal growth of UCLA, is at best a chronological narrative. It is not actually an institutional history. There is no attempt at analysis; little emphasis on internal relations; short on discussion of decision-making processes; silent on intrastate and intercampus rivalry; thin on moments of crisis and confrontation; poor in the area of citation to documentary materials. But I suspect that the intent of the authors has been realized: they wanted to present an impressive account in word and picture that would warm the hearts of old grads and appeal as a testament to the eye of the weary contemporary taxpayer.

What one reads and sees is a positive statement throughout. Clearly, it is shown that UCLA is the product of dedicated men, consciencious faculty, devoted students, steady state support.

UCLA's first fifty years would appear to mark a watershed not only in its history, but in the history of the university in the United States. The flow of events both on and off campus are altering the course of higher education. It has already affected UCLA. Free tuition is gone; state funding has been restricted; federal grants have been curtailed; alumnae giving has diminished. Yet, educational demands and requirements have not been similarly reduced. And the future is none too bright for redress. Well, then, can UCLA celebrate its anniversary. It reached its Golden Jubilee during a parallel time of golden opportunity for higher education. But whence tomorrow?

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., a noted authority on California history, is professor of history at the University of Southern California.

*Die ersten Hamburger im Goldland Kalifornien.* By Renate Hauschild-Thiessen. (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1969. 105 pp. n.p.) Reviewed by Donald F. Meadows.

This publication of the Historical Society of Hamburg, Germany, will provide those who read German with an illuminating account of Hamburg's significant role in the Gold Rush.

During the decade beginning in 1849, immigrants to California from Hamburg, Germany contributed heavily to the economic development of the new state. Quick to grasp the foreign trade potential connected with the gold discoveries, Hamburg was the first German state to establish a consulate in San Francisco (November, 1849). Citizens of Hamburg set out for the Gold Country both as gold seekers and as merchants, many of whom sank their entire capital in the importation of various consumer goods to California. Frequent business failures in the early years reflected a deficient knowledge of the California market with its unpredictable fluctuations between supply and demand. But by 1855, with more stable socioeconomic conditions prevailing, those Hamburg citizens who had been able to hang on were becoming prosperous, some wealthy. "It is certain that California in the gold discovery years generally offered more opportunities than did Hamburg at that time, especially for artisans, carpenters, and other skilled tradesmen who faced unemployment at home" (page 67).

The primary intent of this book is to trace the destiny of every known Hamburg immigrant to California up to 1854. The author's source material consists of consular records, ships' logs, contemporary newspaper notices, diaries, financial reports, family chronicles, and personal letters. These sources are scrupulously cited and documented. The result is a thoroughly researched digest of names together with the known facts surrounding these names. The American descendants of some of the original immigrants are traced up to the present. For quick reference, an appendix lists alphabetically every known individual who emigrated from Hamburg to California up to 1854, together with data about his family and professional background.

This book is more a collection of facts than an interpretive study. Yet the author succeeds in forging the voluminous material into a narrative account of a cultural minority's economic and social contribution to California's growth.

DONALD F. MEADOWS is a member of the history staff of Yuba College, Marysville.

*Flathead and Kootenay: The Rivers, the Tribes, and the Region's Traders.* By Olga Weydemeyer Johnson. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1969. 392 pp. $13.50.) Reviewed by Clifford M. Drury.

This is Volume IX in the growing Northwest Historical Series being issued by the Clark Company. The author deals with the history of the Flathead and Kootenay (also spelled Kutenai) Indians from prehistoric times to about 1890, or possibly a little later. She relies heavily on Prof. Harry Holbert Turney-High's studies on these two tribes for her material for her earlier chapters. An extensive bibliography of nearly eleven pages testifies to the author's wide research. Included in the bibliography is a list of thirty-five or more individuals whom she interviewed. Among these were Indians, descendants of pioneers, Indian Agents, and students of Indian lore. She has skillfully woven into her narrative the information given by these individuals.

The homeland of these Indians centered in what is now northern Idaho, eastern Washington, western Montana, southeastern British Columbia, and southwestern Alberta. Considerable attention is given to the Tobacco Plains country which lies west of the Continental Divide and which straddles the Canadian-United States boundary. Here the Kutenais sowed and harvested sacred plants for ceremonial smoking long before the coming of the white men. The author has diligently researched the history of these two tribes from every possible source — native traditions and customs, language peculiarities, reminiscences of both Indians and Whites, and finally from a large number of books, pamphlets, and published articles on this subject. Her work is well documented.

The author follows Father Palladino in claiming that the 1831 party of four Indians which visited General Clark in St. Louis were Flathead Indians. True, they were called Flatheads but it has been well established that at least three were full-blooded Nez Percés and the fourth was probably half-Nez Percé and half-Flathead. Even Father De Smet, in a letter to Elijah White dated March 4, 1843 (original in National Archives), denies that the personnel of the 1831 delegation were Flatheads. The author (p. 265) advances the theory that possibly the Nez Percés "had married among the Flatheads" and therefore had been inspired by the Flatheads to go to St. Louis to look for Christian teachers. This is pure imagination.

The author's chapters dealing with such subjects as "Womenfolk," "Devotions," and "Gun Men" are well done. She gives a good review of the coming of the explorers, the fur traders, the miners, and finally the settlers. The story she tells of the difficulties the natives faced when the United States government forced them to live on reservations is stirring.

The pictures are well selected and the index appears to be exhaustive. The book appears in the same fine quality of printing, format, and binding expected of all the products of the Arthur H. Clark Company. Certainly this book deserves a place in every university, college, or private library which collects items dealing with our western history and especially with the story of the Indians.

**Clifford M. Drury**, a renowned authority on the history of the Pacific Northwest, is professor of church history, emeritus, at San Francisco Theological Seminary.

*Seventy-five Years in California.* By William Heath Davis. Edited by Harold A. Small. (San Francisco: John Howell — Books, 1967. 345 pp. $27.50.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

William Heath Davis' memoirs are the outstanding eyewitness account of Mexican California. Unlike other accounts written by either newly arrived or ethnocentric North Americans immigrants, Davis' social history of Mexican and early American California depicts Mexican life and people in an objective, sympathetic manner, avoiding the then prevalent overtones of American racial and cultural superiority. Consequently, this approach, plus Davis' great interest in people and in ordinary life, places his memoirs far above the journals and narratives of his contemporaries, especially those works written by overland pioneers and money-hungry miners and lawyers and judges.

Classified as a basic source "for study of the Spanish-Mexican society" by Andrew Rolle, Davis' biographer, this rare volume demanded republication. Fortunately, Warren Howell did much more than just reprint the 1929 edition which was published by John Howell. This third edition, as a result of utilizing Davis' own marked copy of the 1889 edition, has a revised text containing corrections and additions. For this excellent new text, as well as for the succint biographies of persons mentioned, the fine glossary of Spanish words, and two full indices, Warren Howell is indebted to Editor Harold A. Small. For the artistic and exquisite volume, he is beholder to Lawton Kennedy, distinguished printer.

**Manuel P. Servín** is an associate professor of history at the University of Southern California.

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# Manchester Boddy and the L.A. Daily News

*By* ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE

WHEN THE Los Angeles *Daily News* ceased to publish on December 20, 1954, California's largest city lost its only daily newspaper that supported the Democratic Party. Some observers thought that with the paper's demise even more had vanished. Voicing their feelings, *Nation* magazine mourned, "In the newspaper Sahara that is Los Angeles the *Daily News* represented a glimmer — on occasion it was even a glow — of liberal journalism."[1] Others of a similar political persuasion were less sad about the paper's failure, feeling, as its last assistant city editor wrote, that for a long time the *News* had been "empty of strong liberal purpose."[2] Both mourners and critics did agree on one thing: that the once prosperous paper had owed its temporary success and its sometime liberalism to the vision of one man, Manchester Boddy, publisher and editor for twenty-six of the journal's thirty-one years.[3] In this judgment they were right, for the history of the *Daily News* was intimately connected with the life of this one man, who picked the paper out of a bankruptcy court and made it for a time into the most exciting of Southern California dailies.

The story of Elias Manchester Boddy — he dropped the first name early in life — reads like a traditional American rags to riches tale. Born in 1891, the second of five sons to a family struggling on a forty-acre potato farm in Washington, Boddy left home at an early age. He worked at a wide variety of jobs, on farms, in mines and even as a travelling salesman before heading East to seek his fortune. In New York City he became involved in various business ventures. A budding career as a sales manager for Encyclopedia Britannica was interrupted by the First World War, and he came home from the Argonne Forest supposedly "100 percent disabled" from a gas attack.

---

ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE is an associate professor of history at the California Institute of Technology.

Out of the hospital after several months, Boddy had his first contact with the world of journalism as the promoter and head of a task force selling back copies of the New York *Times' Current History* magazine, bound and retitled *The European War.* A severe pneumonia sent him West to find sunshine and soon he and his wife arrived in Los Angeles with only $55 to their name.

In Southern California, Boddy continued as a minor entrepreneur. Taking over a small magazine, he got the Commercial Board, a group of young businessmen, to subsidize it as their house organ. Then he promoted the publication of a Mexican tourist book so well that Harry Chandler, head of the powerful Los Angeles *Times,* hired him to head the Times-Mirror Book Publishing Company, which specialized in California history and movie star biographies. Boddy was at this job when the Los Angeles *Illustrated Daily News* went into receivership and a committee of its stockholders, headed by a member of the Commercial Board, decided that he was the man to make the failing newspaper a paying proposition.[4]

The *News* was only three years old at the time. Started by twenty-year-old Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr., as one of three tabloids in September, 1923 (the others were in San Francisco and Miami), the *News* had from its birth been an oddity. Dedicated by its publisher to the ideal of "clean" journalism, the paper must have been the most prudish tabloid in America. Not only were stories of sex, crime, and divorce limited to fifty words and relegated to inside pages, but staff artists were employed to touch up photos so that women's skirts covered their knees, and wrestlers had gymshirts painted on their hairy chests. The people of the pleasure-loving twenties, an age of journalistic sensationalism, obviously had little use for such tepid newspaper fare.[5] By the summer of 1926 only 90,000 were buying the *News* — this was the lowest circulation of any Los Angeles daily — and advertising was minimal.[6] When it went into bankruptcy, the paper was three million dollars in debt.

Why the stockholders of the *Illustrated Daily News* picked Boddy as their savior is difficult to say; certainly his connections with the Commercial Board helped. A syndicate composed of members of this same board loaned him $116,000 for six months to buy controlling interest in the paper, with the stipulation that if the *News* did not show a profit, ownership would revert to them.[7] With a deadline facing him, Boddy was launched upon his career as a newspaper publisher and editor.

To help make the *News* a paying proposition, Boddy immediately removed the *tabus* on crime, sex, and scandal; and though the paper never sank to the "gutter journalism" level of its New York counterparts, its written and photographic contents soon approximated other journals of the day. Then, as a circulation booster, the new publisher launched a crusade against vice. Reporters visited gambling halls, bookie joints, and houses of prostitution, listed their addresses in the paper and implicated the police in the corruption. Subjected to some harassment by police and politicians, Boddy weathered official hostility and saw his circulation rise until it topped 100,000 by the end of 1926.[8] With the *Daily News* soon showing a profit, pressure on the publisher eased and he could look forward to the task of molding the newspaper to his own desires.

Boddy's original attitude toward the paper is not a difficult one to discern. An entrepreneur with a string of minor successes behind him, Boddy obviously looked upon the *News* as another business to promote, one that undoubtedly had more interesting facets and farther-reaching possibilities than anything he had tackled to date. Yet there was more to him than a simple desire for success. A friend and historian described Boddy in the following terms:

> Shrewd, friendly, incurably optimistic, always willing to take a chance, amazingly prolific of ideas, both sound and dubious, never afraid to express an opinion at a moment's notice on any subject, nor to change that opinion when another viewpoint commanded his interest, a product of the great American common people to whose interest he was genuinely dedicated and for whose integrity and judgment he had a sort of Jeffersonian respect. . . .[9]

Obviously, if the description is accurate, Boddy was the sort of man who would be able to keep his finger on the public pulse, and yet he would not hesitate to convey to the readers his own enthusiasms. This, in fact, is what he was able to do as editor for many years.

It was not until late 1932 that the *Daily News* entered its most important and influential phase, when the paper began giving much publicity to various movements designed to overcome the economic evils and human suffering of the Depression. At the same time, though he had backed Hoover both in 1928 and 1932, Boddy switched allegiance to Roosevelt's New Deal and remained a registered Democrat as long as he led the *News*. Some people have found the way he jumped political camps to be pernicious. A disgruntled editor claimed "Boddy dumped Hoover when . . . Roosevelt . . . captured the imagination of America. He jumped on the band wagon and began making money."[10] While the drastic shift cannot be denied, the implication that he was only an opportunist and not at all a liberal is unwarranted. After all, many people made a similar switch of allegiance when the New Deal changed the face of American political life. Besides, in his philosophical approach to life, Boddy remained rather consistent across the years. It was only the times which changed around him.

His philosophy was best expressed in a column titled "Thinking and Living," which he began to write shortly after taking over the paper. Obviously feeling that he had learned a lot in his years working about the country, Boddy thought he could pass on to others some of the knowledge he had gained. Hardly a profound man, he must have nonetheless touched his readers with his homely, school-of-hard-knocks ideas that sounded much like traditional folk wisdom. At least, he never hesitated to tell them exactly how he felt about the problems of life and the issues of the day.

In his early columns, Boddy showed himself an advocate of an active individualism. Two ideas recur frequently. One is the concept that people should worry less about life and should live it more fully, should act rather than stew in the juice of worried inaction. The second is that the individual, responsible for all his own actions, is capable of creating his own happiness. This happiness consists in being true to oneself, in living "a simple, well-balanced life in which our physical self can harmonize with our inner self."[11] Such a state will be marred if a man does things "which he himself knows, at the time he does them, to be downright crooked and dishonest."[12]

Seeing life as a series of hurdles to be overcome, Boddy attacked people who think they can be completely removed so that "the great god Ease will reign supreme."[13] Such reasoning is foolish, for experience teaches that when one hurdle is removed, new ones spring up. Besides, he thought, such obstacles are necessary, for without them life would hold no interest. The important thing is how the individual confronts problems and honestly attempts to solve them. His success is dependent upon his own inner resources. As Boddy wrote:

> Any individual has a *possible* chance for a successful journey through life when he develops self-confidence and self-reliance . . . it means he has no chance when he neglects these and depends for help upon his congressman, his senator, his city council, board of supervisors, Congress, the President or any political party. . . .[14]

Here, obviously, are the words of a self-made man, praising his own rise and frowning upon those who would look outside themselves for help.

Such a viewpoint seems bleakly conservative, but it only reflects one side of Boddy's thinking. The other side was strongly humanitarian. Never a Social Darwinist proclaiming life an economic jungle, Boddy could follow the above quote with the understanding statement that because of the ways of the world, not everyone could achieve success. Then he said flatly that society must undertake "the obligation of caring for such as cannot care for themselves," and to this theme he would recur more than once. This is important, for during the thirties, when Boddy changed from a Republican to an ardent backer of the New Deal, it was becoming increasingly obvious that whole sections of American society were incapable of caring for themselves in the face of widespread breakdown of the economic order. In switching political allegiances Boddy was only responding to his humanitarian impulses and recognizing that new times call for new actions.

Even while supporting Hoover in 1932, Boddy was beginning to look for something beyond traditional Republican policies. Perhaps his rejection of FDR was mere skepticism at a campaign that vaguely promised a New Deal for Americans at less money than the government was already spending; probably he was still a captive of the traditional wisdom that government could do nothing to alleviate a depression. Yet Boddy realized the problems of this particular depression were unprecedented. The self-reliance he cherished meant little when there were no jobs or business opportunities for anyone, and he cast about for ways of helping the individual. In October, 1932, he was advocating a kind of voluntary collectivism that would throw open "idle land near industry . . . to part-time workers." Here was the Jeffersonian in him talking, for such action would not only "take the worst sting out of critical industrial periods," but would also improve the moral fibre of the people because "any man who gains partial subsistence from the soil is likely to be a pretty decent citizen."[15] At the same time, the editor expressed a vague interest in the Soviet Union's economic experiments, though he obviously had little use for that nation's methods.[16] Still, with such views, Boddy can be seen working himself towards a position that would allow him to accept large parts of the New Deal and some schemes that went beyond it.

After the election of 1932 but before FDR's inauguration, the *Daily News* became deeply involved in publicizing and promoting one such plan for radically changing American economic life. The movement was Technocracy, and the manner in which the paper handled its story shows something about the mixture of motives always in Boddy's mind. One day the editor came across an article in Al Smith's *New Outlook* magazine written by Howard Scott, an engineer who was head of a Columbia University study group concerned with how engineering and science could improve people's lives. Intrigued by the possibilities of a "scientific" management of society, Boddy saw in such a movement a way of ending the Depression. He also understood the possibilities of exploiting the story and picking up some new circulation for the newspaper. As he recalled in the early sixties, "economic news was as thrilling in those days as a good murder trial is today."[17]

Technocracy entered the pages of the *News* quietly enough, with the editor writing in his November 30 column that such a science, based on fact and beyond the influence of partisan politics, was "the answer to Spenglerism." Only two days later, it was getting banner headlines, which it did for a month. It did so because Boddy assigned a single reporter to cover the story, and he planned on a thirty-day series. Since the only information on Technocracy was the one magazine article, the reporter was obliged to rewrite it for the entire month, trying to find a new "slant" every day.[18]

On December 2 the *Daily News* page one banner proclaimed, "NEW DEAL DETAILS BARED," and then came the story of Technocracy. The headline was obviously bogus, calculated to make an anxious public buy papers to see what their new President would do for them. Since Roosevelt and his advisers were not even mentioned in the story, the headline can only be justified on the grounds that the article had appeared in Democratic leader Al Smith's publication, which seems little justification, or that Boddy wished to sell papers, which is most likely. On the second day the banner read, "GREATEST U.S. ENGINEER SEES TECHNOCRACY FREEING PEOPLE." Similar headlines appeared throughout the month, over stories that told how the Depression could be easily brought to an end. At the same time Boddy continued extolling the virtues of Technocracy in his column. By December 7 he was thanking readers for the huge flood of mail on the subject. Meanwhile, the paper was carrying many articles on Technocracy, interviews with scientists, news of clubs being formed to promote its tenets, predictions that the work week would be shortened to ten hours by 1940 due to the switch from an economy based on profit to one based on consumption. During the month Manchester Boddy, himself, filled the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles for a public debate on the subject with Lincoln Steffens.

Obviously, the editor-publisher's judgment had been right. Technocracy was a good story. It offered hope to people who needed to hope. And it brought circulation to the *Daily News*. Observers recorded that while the series of articles on Technocracy was appearing, "crowds congregated around the doors of the press-room as publication hour approached. When the first copies, ink scarcely dry, were off the press, the excitement rose to a fever pitch. Men fought and scrambled. Dollar bills in the rear were often waved over the heads of those in front. Edition after edition would be sold out."[19] Boddy later even claimed that bootlegged copies of November issues of the *News* sold for as high as a dollar each.[20] And various commentators have credited Boddy's paper with helping to create much of the excitement surrounding Technocracy in that era.[21]

In a few months, the furor over the subject died down in the pages of the *News*. Here again one can find mixed motives in the editor's mind. Boddy's interest in the topic abated as engineers devoted only to facts began quarrelling over what those facts were. Then he was put off by the suggestions of some Technocrats that dictatorship was necessary to get their system into operation. Just as important in its disappearance from the newspaper was obviously the fact that as a story, Technocracy had had its day; no longer was news of it capable of selling papers. Still, Boddy went on mentioning it from time to time, obviously still fascinated by a scientific approach to society. As late as November, 1934, he wrote that Technocracy gave a good critical appraisal of "what was wrong with the present economic system," but unfortunately proposed no realistic alternative.[22]

What Boddy did in the way of publicity for Technocracy he also did for a number of other social movements of the nineteen thirties. But never again did he give any such movement the blanket support he had given the first one. He was beginning to doubt social panaceas of any sort, and after 1933 was increasingly happy with the trial and error methods of the New Deal. Still, the fair hearing given to many of the movements of the thirties in the pages of the *Daily News* helped them spread their messages to a public interested in ways out of the Depression.

The first of these after Technocracy was the Utopian Society, also dedicated to a new economic order. Using elaborate, mysterious rituals, the movement soon commanded a large following. Though there was nothing apparently subversive about it, scare headlines filled the Los Angeles press the week before the Utopians were to hold their first Hollywood Bowl meeting on June 23, 1934. Utopia was linked with "Red Radicalism" and was said to be "Backed by Moscow."[23] The *Daily News* did not go along with the other papers. On June 23 a page one article explained the purposes and objectives of the Utopian Society — insofar as they could be explained — and termed it a pro-American organization. Was Boddy trying to woo members of the society to the *News?* Perhaps, but it must be remembered that red-baiting also helps sell papers, and that good journalism required that the organization's doings be accurately reported. Rather than simply sell papers, editor Boddy was showing his readers that dissident movements need not be subversive of the social order.

In the same year as the Utopians, Upton Sinclair's EPIC (End Poverty in California) movement, designed to put him into the governor's chair in Sacramento, received a good news break in the *Daily News.* While the former socialist, running on the Democratic ticket, was being attacked by most of the California press as a Communist, atheist, anarchist, and believer in free love, Manchester Boddy was calling Sinclair a great man but objecting to EPIC on the grounds that it did not agree with the plans of the New Deal and that it would not work.[24] Even so, the editor opened his front page to Sinclair on June 10, 1934, and allowed the candidate to explain why he felt his program did agree with that of Roosevelt. Throughout the campaign Sinclair received much fair coverage in the *News,* but its endorsement went to Frank Merriam, a Republican who, under pressure, had accepted a New Deal platform. Boddy, himself, made the case for a "liberal" being able to oppose EPIC, saying that Sinclair's plan ignores "the facts of our present economic situation."[25] For Boddy the problem was not merely one of putting unemployed back to work — Sinclair wished to do this by nationalizing closed factories — but was one of distribution, which EPIC did not plan to tackle. After the election, Sinclair accused Boddy of "leading liberal movements up blind alleys and bludgeoning them," but since Roosevelt himself remained noncommittal about EPIC, the charge hardly seems fair or cogent.[26]

Following EPIC came a number of other schemes for dealing with the problems of the Depression, some limited to California, some with nationwide appeal. Most of them received coverage in the *Daily News.* A couple, like Social Credit and Community Land Chest, were endorsed.[27] When pension plans began dotting the political landscape, their intricacies were explained too, but editor Boddy had the good sense to keep from supporting such dubious movements as Ham 'n Eggs or the Townsend Plan, even when the latter achieved enough popularity to almost be approved by a state initiative measure. By the mid-thirties many of the publisher's political dreams were being realized in the unfolding of the New Deal.

The affair between Boddy and FDR may not have been the result of love at first sight, but after the Technocracy bubble had burst, the editor was obviously looking about for another movement that would help the ailing country, and soon the New Deal was doing just that. Boddy even seemed to entertain the lingering hope that Roosevelt's program would include the "production for consumption" doctrines of the Technocrats, to which he steadily adhered. As late as December 12, 1934, he wrote that "Community Land Chest, Technocracy, NRA and the New Deal, old-age pensions and Social Credit . . . all . . . make one harmonious whole and do not conflict, one with another." How these things harmonize is problematic, but his expression shows Boddy to be a man in favor of a wide variety of methods for curing economic ills and of helping — even by government action now — those who could not help themselves.

Many things in the New Deal could be calculated to appeal to the newspaper publisher, even to his traditionalist side. The rhetoric of Roosevelt's inaugural address that spoke of "social values more noble than mere monetary profit" certainly stirred a man who had attacked mere monetary gain that was achieved at the expense of the harmonious life.[28] The bustle of activity of New Deal leaders had to appeal to someone who believed in purposeful action to overcome the hurdles of life. The ultimate conservative aim of Roosevelt, that of saving private enterprise, also was understood and commended by Boddy the entrepreneur.[29] In the middle of the Hundred Days he wrote of the New Deal, "If it fails, our economic, political and social structure will give way to outright Communism."[30] A year later the *News* happily editorialized, "Roosevelt is destroying Socialism and Communism in America by removing the evils that breed them."[31] On the eve of the 1936 election, the paper claimed FDR "has made magnificent strides toward restoring to the people the liberties and opportunities of which they have been despoiled."[32] By now Boddy recognized that government could help liberate men from the shackles of an economic system over which they had little control. Thus it could help restore self-reliance and self-confidence rather than simply robbing people of these precious commodities.

From almost its inception until Roosevelt's dying day, the *Daily News* supported the New Deal with great ardor, and scorned those who opposed it. As late as the unprecedented fourth campaign, Boddy scoffed that only the "isolationists, the bitter partisans, the deluded and the uninformed" wished to defeat the President.[33] Boddy did have some objections to certain New Deal actions and agencies, such as the NLRB, which he thought gave far too much power to organized labor. But he kept these to himself because he was happy with the overall progress of the country under Roosevelt's administrations, and he did not wish to go into opposition.[34] It would also be naive to overlook the fact that at least part of a public now wedded to the New Deal would go on buying the only paper in Los Angeles to back FDR. In keeping his objections to himself, Boddy was again being mindful of the business side of his newspaper operation.

How strongly FDR's programs changed Boddy's political allegiances can be seen in the *Daily News* endorsement for offices. In 1932, along with Hoover, the paper backed seven Republicans in eight Congressional districts; by 1934 it was calling for an all-

Democratic Congress to help the President's program. After that year it was the rare Republican who found himself receiving the *News'* support. One of the few was old Progressive Senator Hiram Johnson, whom Boddy backed for re-election in 1940, going so far as to write a pamphlet in his favor. Saying he recognized the President was desirous of party loyalty, Boddy endorsed Johnson because of his "proven liberalism" that made him "the people's most consistent and most powerful champion."[35] In spite of his ardent New Dealing, Boddy was able to keep an open mind and an independent spirit.

On other issues of the day Boddy's newspaper showed an equally open mind. Witch hunting — ever a popular California pastime — was often editorially condemned.[36] In 1934, when a few UCLA students were expelled for allegedly being Communists, the *News* called for their reinstatement saying, "Everyone knows the boys aren't communists."[37] When Mexican lettuce pickers went on strike in the Imperial Valley in the same year, and the usual Red charge was made in some quarters, the *News* commiserated with the "wretchedly paid . . . helpless victims" who engaged in such "arduous toil" and had "no more connection with the Red Internationale than with the Sultan of Sulu."[38]

If Boddy could be fair to such helpless groups as agricultural workers and students, he also always dealt decently with labor unions, both their right to organize and to strike.[39] One of the touchstones here was the San Francisco General Strike which broke out in July, 1934. Most California newspapers not only denounced the strike, but in the words of one historian they "unceasingly whipped up the hysteria of their readers by asserting that the movement was communistic in inspiration, character and purpose. . . ."[40] Though the *News* made much play of the strike in bold, banner headlines, it covered events fairly. Meanwhile Boddy editorialized that the strike was a legal one. He called it not a general strike, "which seeks to paralyze all social activity," but a "unified strike," and that is how stories in the *News* always referred to it.[41] Early in the strike Boddy asked the government to step in as a referee between capital and labor. When the National Guard was called in, the paper demanded that the troops should only protect property and should refrain from trying to chastise the strikers.[42] No other metropolitan paper was as fair to the workers.

Though the Daily News took consistently liberal positions after 1933 and was always open-minded in handling touchy social issues, it would be wrong to picture it as a newspaper solely given over to the exploration of social improvement schemes. Boddy saw to it that the paper never completely lost itself in the heady clouds of political and economic speculation; throughout the decade it kept its feet firmly planted on the bedrock of popular journalism, with cheesecake and crime, columnists and breezy reporting enlivening its pages.

Still, the *News'* difference from other Los Angeles dailies was in its political stance, and this influenced its readership. During the first two Roosevelt administrations, while many metropolitan papers were failing across the country and two went under in Southern California, the *News* doubled its circulation, standing at 202,000 as the new decade opened.[43] It was still the smallest of the four Los Angeles dailies, but it was less than 20,000 behind the *Examiner* and the *Times*. It is true that it had 50,000 fewer readers than the *Herald-Express,* but that paper had actually fallen in circulation over an eight-year period, while the two other rivals had made slight gains. Thus, judged by either percentage or absolute increase, the *News* was by far and away the greatest success story of Los Angeles journalism in the thirties. Surely much of this increase was due to Manchester Boddy, his endorsement of the New Deal, and his fair-mindedness in covering the various social enthusiasms of the period. The editor-publisher had received a nice payoff for his liberal approach to the world.

There is little doubt that the important journalistic days for both Boddy and the *News* were at an end with the coming of the Second World War. Like most American newspapers, the *News* prospered during the conflict, but its distinctive stance was submerged in the war effort. The peak of its readership came two years after fighting ended, when more than 300,000 people purchased it every day. But already it was falling both absolutely and relatively farther behind the other Los Angeles dailies than it had been in fifteen years.

As the paper's success was intimately tied to the personality of Manchester Boddy, so was its decline. Turning sixty when the war decade ended, the editor had become a prosperous man, and he was also very tired of the hectic task of running a newspaper. One friend observed that even before the war Boddy had become fed up with his position because "he had run out of [the] conflicts" on which he had thrived.[44] Less kind is the suggestion that, now rich and growing conservative, Boddy wanted to retire to enjoy his fortune.[45] Yet Boddy had in 1941 touched this same idea in writing that newspapers

> may have the same enthusiastic and idealistic beginnings as other institutions. They are also likely, happily or unhappily, to grow into the conservative middle age of affluence, and even into the reactionary old age of a fortune won and watched.[46]

Perhaps even at that date he could feel himself succumbing to this very human pressure.

If Boddy was changing, so was the world, and this, too, helps explain the decline of the *News*. Post-war United States did not spawn the dissident movements on which the paper had thrived, and the organization man, with his drive for security and material goods, would not have been interested in a paper that rocked the boat or endorsed drastic changes in the social order; such activities belonged to a Depression world now vanished. With the reforms of the New Deal now institutionalized, a paper supporting them could create little excitement among the public, and certainly Harry Truman's Fair Deal was anything but hot news.

Boddy himself was hardly excited about the course of events, and he even began to have second thoughts about the Roosevelt era. Feeling he was repeating himself in print and still a Democrat, he made an unsuccessful bid for his party's Senatorial nomination in 1950. During the campaign he plumped hard for the "little man," sounding the theme of individualism that had filled his early columns. Now he was concerned that big government and big labor — both the products of big business — were serving to crush rather than liberate the individual.[47] Like many other critics, he had no real solution for this problem, but his very recognition of it shows a growing disillusionment with some of the results of the New Deal.

Another event of the campaign shows how Boddy was changing. More than one commentator has alleged that it was the editor in the primary — rather than Richard Nixon in the final election — who first smeared Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas as being "pink," and who linked her with Vito Marcantonio, the radical New York Congressman widely believed to be a follower of the Communist Party line.[48] Boddy and one of his associates denied the charge, and certainly his columns engaged in no such allegations.[49] Yet it is true that before the primary advertisements appeared in all the Los Angeles papers linking Mrs. Douglas with Marcantonio.[50] Since they were sponsored by an anonymous "citizen's committee," it is impossible to tell what, if anything, Boddy had to do with such a charge. Even if guiltless, Boddy in later years expressed enough hostility toward the Communists and their supposed "subversion" of his newspaper to show that the fair-mindedness he had shown towards radical activity in the thirties was a thing of the past.[51]

Shortly after the election, the editor-publisher went into semi-retirement, disgusted that the people whose causes he had espoused for so long had deserted him at the polls.[52] In August, 1952, he severed all connection with the newspaper, selling his stock to a syndicate. For its last two years of existence, the *News* was in a sorry state. Plagued by falling circulation and advertising revenue even before Boddy's departure, the paper could not meet the competition of the *Mirror,* a new daily sponsored by the wealthy Los Angeles *Times*. Caught in a vicious circle of falling income, which meant staff cutbacks, a poorer product, less circulation and thus less income, the *News* went the way of so many metropolitan dailies in recent years. When it fell into bankruptcy in December, 1954, the newspaper was $3,500,000 in debt, slightly more than the total debt when Manchester Boddy had taken control of it twenty-eight years before.

If there were no men like Boddy to revitalize the *News* in 1954, it was largely because times had changed. In reality, Boddy was a man of an earlier era, a man whose personal journalism, displayed in his columns and crusades, could succeed in the world of the thirties, when American society was in upheaval, but had little place in the organization-minded post-war world. Similarly, his philosophy was out of date. He could change from a laissez-faire-minded entrepreneur to a supporter of the New Deal on the grounds that the latter was helping to restore individualism, but after World War II it was difficult for Boddy to find where self-reliance and individual initiative resided in American life. Besides, increasing age and prosperity made him less interested in the search. Critics may be right in claiming he was not a liberal to the end, but the liberalism and fair-mindedness that he imparted to the *Daily News* in the thirties helped write an important page in California journalistic history.

## NOTES

1. "Death of a Daily," *Nation*, 180 (Jan. 8, 1955), p. 23.

2. Lucien C. Haas, "The Daily News and Why it Died," *Frontier* (Feb., 1955), p. 7.

3. In addition to article cited in first two notes see "L.A.: the Death of the News," *New Republic*, 132 (Jan. 10, 1955), p. 6.

4. Details of Boddy's life from F. J. Taylor, "Man with a Borrowed Shoestring: Manchester Boddy," *Saturday Evening Post*, 217 (Dec. 2, 1944), pp. 24-25. Much information is also contained in Gene Coughlin, "Daily News Story," a 205-page, incomplete manuscript written in the late forties. Coughlin was with the *News* from its Vanderbilt days until after the end of World War II, serving in a variety of editorial positions. The MS was lent by Boddy to the author.

5. For Vanderbilt's paper see Taylor, "Man with a Borrowed Shoestring." The author also benefitted from reading Matt Weinstock, "The Early History of the Daily News," a 27-page memorandum prepared for Boddy's own use in 1944. Weinstock, with the paper from 1924 through its demise, served in positions from reporter to managing editor. He also talked about the early *News* days in a personal interview with the author.

6. All circulation figures in this article are taken from the appropriate volumes of the *Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son).

7. "Details of L.A. News Suspension Bared," *Editor and Publisher*, 88 (Feb. 12, 1955), p. 14; Manchester Boddy, personal interview with the author.

8. Taylor, "Man with a Borrowed Shoestring"; Coughlin, "Daily News Story"; Boddy interview.

9. Robert Glass Cleland, *California In Our Time* (New York: Knopf, 1947), pp. 217-218.

10. Haas, "The Daily News and Why it Died," p. 7.

11. *Thinking and Living* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1929), p. 15. This book is a collection of early columns which Boddy published himself.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

14. *Daily News*, Oct. 5, 1932.

15. *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1932.

16. *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1932.

17. Boddy interview.

18. Weinstock interview.

19. Luther Whiteman and Samuel L. Lewis, *Glory Roads* (New York: Crowell, 1936), p. 9.

20. Boddy interview.

21. Whiteman and Lewis, *Glory Roads*, pp. 8-9; Cleland, *California in Our Time*, p. 218; Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Peace, 1946), p. 294.

22. *Daily News*, Nov. 16, 1934.

23. Whiteman and Lewis, *Glory Roads*, p. 24.

24. *Daily News*, June 10, 1934.

25. *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1934.

26. Taylor, "Man With a Borrowed Shoestring," p. 103.

27. Boddy showed interest in Community Land Chest in a number of columns in May, 1933. See, for example, May 19 issue of the paper. Social Credit won his enthusiasm in November, 1934. The edition of Nov. 22 carries a typical column endorsing it.

28. On the day after the inaugural Boddy enthusiastically wrote, "For the first time during this crisis we have a national leader possessed of enlightened ideas and revolutionary plans, and in a position to execute them."

29. *Daily News*, May 10, 1934.

30. *Ibid.*, May 15, 1933.

31. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1934.

32. *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1936.

33. *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1944.

34. Coughlin, "Daily News Story," p. 203; Boddy interview.

35. "Why I am going to vote for Hiram W. Johnson" (1940).

36. See, for example, *Daily News* editorial, May 26, 1934.

37. *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1934.

38. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1934.

39. See, for example, Boddy column, Dec. 3, 1934.

40. Cleland, *California in Our Time*, p. 228.

41. *Daily News*, July 17, 1934.

42. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1934.

43. During the Depression the *Express* was absorbed by the *Herald* and the *Record* was taken over by the *Daily News*.

44. Coughlin, "Daily News Story," p. 202.

45. Haas, "The Daily News and Why it Died," p. 8.

46. Boddy article in Harold L. Ickes, ed., *Freedom of the Press Today* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1941), p. 45.

47. *Daily News,* June 8, 1950.

48. Haas, "The Daily News and Why it Died," p. 8; Earl Mazo, *Richard Nixon* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 74-75.

49. Boddy, Weinstock interviews.

50. The advertisement appeared in the *Daily News* on June 30, 1950.

51. Boddy interview.

52. Weinstock interview; Haas, "The Daily News and Why it Died," p. 8.

# California Un-American Activities Investigations
# Subversion on the Right?

### *By* ROBERT L. PRITCHARD

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CALIFORNIA'S COUNTERPART to the U. S. House of Representatives' Un-American Activities Committee was established during the 1941 legislative session. It was a joint Senate-Assembly group, officially named the Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California. It became the permanent successor of several legislative committees that had been established to investigate alleged subversive activities in the State Relief Administration. The most important of these, and the immediate predecessor of the Un-American Activities Committee, was the Assembly Relief Investigating Committee, chaired by Assemblyman Samuel W. Yorty of Los Angeles. Assemblyman Jack B. Tenney, also of Los Angeles, served on the Yorty Committee and, as a state senator, headed the Joint Un-American Activities Committee from 1941 to 1949. Tenney was replaced in 1949 by Senator Hugh M. Burns of Fresno, who was the Committee's chairman at this writing.

The Committee's primary concern, during its quarter-century of existence, has been to investigate Communism or Communist-related activities, real or alleged. Of the thirteen full reports and several supplemental reports published since 1943, only six deal with matters unrelated to Communism.[1] Even when dealing primarily with non-Communist organizations or problems, the Committee has tended to relate its investigation in some way to Communism. The Committee's view of the range of Communist activities in California has encompassed a rather broad spectrum of opinion on the left, extending from the liberally oriented American Civil Liberties Union to the Communist Party itself. The purpose of this article is to examine the lesser known aspect of the Committee's endeavors —

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its investigations of activities that are primarily non-Communist. For lack of a better term, these matters can be somewhat loosely labeled as "right-wing."

The types of non-Communist organizations investigated by the Committee fall into three categories: (1) totalitarian organizations; (2) nontotalitarian right-wing organizations; (3) racist organizations. The first group includes Nazi, Fascist, and Japanese organizations that were investigated during World War II.[2] The second group includes organizations that are authoritarian, ultra-patriotic, and militantly anti-Communist, as the Sinarquista movement and the John Birch Society. The third group includes the Black Muslims, the Ku Klux Klan, and the National States Rights Party. Mankind United, another group investigated by the Committee, defies categorization. It was a mixture of mysticism, occultism, and the charlatanism of its leaders. Its investigation appears to have proved little, except the endemic gullibility of its membership.[3]

Before examining the Committee's investigations of these organizations, it is instructive to observe the three men who have most strongly influenced the Committee over the years — Senator Jack B. Tenney, Senator Hugh M. Burns, and Committee Chief Counsel Richard Ellis Combs. Tenney, an entertainer, songwriter, and onetime president of the Los Angeles Local 47 of the American Federation of Musicians, was first elected to the state legislature as an assemblyman in 1936. Until 1939, he was associated with the more liberal elements in the Democratic Party. According to Professor Edward Barrett of the University of California (Berkeley) Law School, "Tenney supported numerous left-wing movements in his capacity as president of the union."[4] Tenney's local of the A.F.M. was associated with the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, which in 1938 called for dissolution of the Dies Committee.[5] At a League rally in November, 1938, Tenney's speech included the following remarks:

> Fellow subversive elements, I have just heard that Mickey Mouse is conspiring with Shirley Temple to overthrow the government and that there is a witness who has seen the "Red" card of Donald Duck. When the Dies Committee stoops to calling President Roosevelt a Communist, and says that Mrs. Roosevelt is a front for subversive elements, then I think the rest of us should be flattered to be put in that category.[6]

The Committee, during the period in which Tenney served as chairman, labeled the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League as a Communist-front organization.[7] Tenney's explanation as to why he became associated with the League and other left-wing organizations provides a possible explanation for his later anti-Communist zeal as Committee chairman:

> Jack B. Tenney's thinking on the subject of Communism was about the same as that of the average citizen in 1937 and his reaction to disguised Communist propaganda about the same. The average citizen of 1937 just wasn't prepared to believe that there was such a thing as a "communist menace" in the United States. That there were Americans who sought the destruction of the United States was too utterly fantastic for rational belief. People were of two kinds: those who sought the betterment of the poor and the unemployed, and the rich and heartless "reactionaries" who "sought to further oppress the poor." . . . A sinister and mysterious power residing somewhere in "Wall Street" in New York actually ran the United States. Whenever a courageous voice was raised in opposition to these things it was to be immediately hushed by being called "communistic" — and "directed by Moscow." And what was wrong with Moscow, anyway? Didn't everyone know that there hadn't been any unemployment or distress in Russia during the great depression? Maybe the Russians really had something! Hadn't "Big Business" cooked up a Congressional Committee headed by a "narrow-minded Texas reactionary" named Martin Dies for the purpose of destroying labor unions?
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>
> Thus ran the fuzzy thinking of 1937.[8]

As Committee chairman, Tenney conducted investigations with a crusading ardor, employing a "shotgun" technique that blasted forth at Communists, Communist-fronts, and alleged Communists in every direction. Many diverse activities were investigated: the Zoot-Suit riots, the UCLA Writers' Conference, alleged Communist propaganda at Canoga Park High School, the Communist line on sex, the Hollywood film industry — no subject was too large or too small to escape the Committee's scrutiny. Tenney badgered witnesses, indiscriminately threw around the labels "Communist front" and "fellow traveler," and exploited through extravagant statements the public's desire for sensationalism. The criticism of his methods, and often of his conclusions, built up over a period of years, and the state senate replaced him in 1949.[9] Whether Tenney was motivated by a sincere belief that he was protecting the United States against internal enemies, reacting against an earlier gullibility, or simply trying to exploit for his own purposes an emotional public issue, is impossible to determine. Whatever the reason, the senate felt it could no longer condone his flamboyant style. After Tenney's departure, the style of the Committee's investigations, if not the substance, was quite different.

Senator Hugh M. Burns of Fresno was one of the legislature's most powerful and influential leaders. He had served in the legislature since 1937, as Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee since 1949, and as President Pro Tempore of the Senate since 1957. He also headed the Senate Rules Committee, which placed him in a key position to influence legislation. Burns, a very conservative Democrat, worked well with conservative Republicans, and was generally regarded quite highly in right-wing circles. Although more moderate in style than Tenney, he was equally dedicated as a militant anti-Communist. The Committee under Burns' leadership was very active in its investigations of left-wing elements in California; it was particularly critical of alleged un-American professors and administrators at the University of California. However, because of the pressure of his many and varied responsibilities in the legislature, Burns left the day-to-day operations of the Committee to Chief Counsel Combs.

Richard Combs, in many ways was the most interesting of the Committee's "triumvirate" of leaders. He had made a nearly life-long study of Communism and had become, even his critics admitted, an expert on the subject. Combs, no less than Tenney or Burns, believed that Communism was an international conspiracy, dedicated to achieving its objectives by open revolution if possible, by internal subversion if necessary. However, Combs was no Jack Tenney. He had steeped himself in factual knowledge about his chosen subject and followed a much more moderate approach in his investigative activities. Whether he interpreted correctly the facts at his command is another matter entirely.

A recent study of the Committee pointed out the unusual procedures that it has followed over the past few years:

> Shielded by the Senate's dominant politico, the Un-American Activities Committee has burrowed, since 1950, into continually deepening obscurity. It abolished public hearings in 1952. Its meetings leave no records. No one can

> learn what witnesses are called. Even the whereabouts of records is a secret. The names of persons Combs hires for investigations or pays as tipsters are not disclosed even to Committee members. Since 1959 the very language authorizing the Committee disappeared from Senate records. The Senate created a catch-all "General Research Committee" and Un-American Activities was submerged within it, as a sub-committee. Even appropriations of money no longer appear in Senate journals.[10]

The Committee's activities, files, and agents apparently were under the personal direction and control of Combs. Whatever the Committee's function in California today, it has performed that function through the efforts of Combs, without too much interference from the Committee's legislative membership. Combs' position has been unique, both in California and in the rest of the nation.

## II

During World War II, the Committee devoted considerable effort to investigations of groups allegedly sympathetic to Nazism, Fascism, or Japanese militarism. It regarded all these ideas as totalitarian and inimical to the American way of life. It further attempted to show that each of these ideas had infiltrated American society and had carried on fifth-column activities designed to destroy the United States from within. A significant portion of the Committee's first two reports described the results of these investigations.[11]

The Committee's first report on Nazism began with a brief survey of the Nazis' rise to power and an analysis of Nazism's theoretical foundations. It then examined Nazi organizations in California, particularly the Friends of New Germany and the German-American Bund. The latter organization was the more important and received the Committee's major attention. Some twenty-five witnesses were subpoenaed to discuss the activities of the Bund.[12] This number included both citizens and resident aliens. The Committee's questions dealt primarily with the following matters: the nature of the Bund's organization in America, the interlocking structure of Nazi-type organizations, the source of the Bund's operating instructions, the doctrines of the organization, and the conduct of meetings — whether the members displayed American flags and wore uniforms and arm-bands.

The Committee examined the scope and extent of the Bund's operations in the United States, as well as the activities of other organizations sympathetic to the Nazis. It was less explicit as to whether these organizations had actually engaged in subversive activities. The Committee seemed more cautious in drawing the line between advocacy and action than in its investigations of Communism, but did conclude that

> The German-American *Bund* in the United States was divided into three districts, Eastern, Middle Western, and Western. The National leader received his inspiration, program and orders from Berlin, although Fuehrers, such as Herman Max Schwinn claimed that the National leader took his orders from the National Convention. The organizational set-up of the German-American *Bund* in this regard is based on the same fictions used by the Communist Party of the United States.[13]
>
> ..............................................................................
>
> The Committee learned that the German American *Bund* was in constant contact with Nazi diplomatic representatives in California until these agencies were closed by the Federal Government.... In addition to others, the Steuben societies, *Turnvereins* and singing societies were all used as fronts for the *Bund*. Summer camps were maintained in California where German-American children were taught the harsh doctrines of Naziism [*sic*], drilled, regimented, toughened, disciplined and indoctrinated with the theory that Democracy is decadent.[14]

A substantial portion of the Committee's investigation of Nazi activities was devoted to a discussion of Communism, drawing parallels between the two ideologies. In denouncing Nazi ideas concerning racial superiority and anti-Semitism as completely contrary to American democratic principles, the Committee pointed out that

> The Communist Party itself does not hesitate to attack the Jews of the United States when they find citizens of this race [*sic*] boldly antagonistic to Communist intrigue and conspiracy against the Government.
>
> ..............................................................................
>
> Under the cloak of the Bill of Rights, the Nazi and the Communist seek to subvert the freedom they intend to destroy while clinging to their protections.[15]

The Committee noted further that the Communist Party did not hesitate to collaborate with the Nazis or any other group when such collaboration suited its purposes. During the period of the Nazi-

Soviet Pact (August, 1939, to June, 1941), the American Communist Party followed the line that the war was just a conflict among "decadent capitalist states" and that there was little to choose between Germany and Britain. The Party reversed this policy as soon as the Soviet Union was attacked and called for a united anti-Fascist front.

The Committee cited the America First Committee as another example of Nazi-Communist collaboration. It noted that most America Firsters were sincere, patriotic Americans who felt that the nation's best interests would be served by following a policy of isolation and remaining out of the war. However, despite their sincerity and patriotism, they were used by totalitarian-front organizations:

> The United States had not yet been attacked by any aggressor nation, and many thousands of perfectly good, loyal Americans opposed involvement. . . . however sincere and loyal the majority of the members of such organizations as the America First Committee and National Legion of Mothers of America may have been, the objectives of such groups coincided in every way with the objectives of Axis agents and Axis-front organizations, such as the German-American *Bund*. For at least 22 months the objectives of the isolationists also corresponded with the objectives of the Communist Party.[16]

The Committee's investigation of Italian Fascist activities in California followed the same procedure and covered similar ground as its investigation of the Nazis. It attempted to show a pattern of subversive activities through Italian-language groups and alleged Fascist-front organizations.[17] However, based solely on the material included in the Committee report, no definite pattern of subversion was established. In fact, the Committee's probe into Nazi and Fascist activities appears to have added nothing substantive to the fight against enemy espionage in America. The really important work in this area was done by agencies of the federal government.[18]

In its investigation of Japanese organizations, the Committee placed great emphasis on the testimony given by Dr. John Lechner.[19] Lechner was director of the Americanism Educational League, located in Los Angeles. This was a patriotic organization, dedicated to a defense of the United States Constitution against Nazism, Communism, and other alien "isms."[20] Precisely how Lechner obtained his expertise on the Japanese and why the Committee regarded him as an expert, is not readily ascertainable. Perhaps it was because Senator Tenney was also a member of the Americanism Educational League.[21] Lechner believed that a substantial Japanese subversive network existed in the United States. He favored the most stringent measures against the Japanese to minimize the effectiveness of this network, including particularly strong support for the "relocation" of all Japanese from the West Coast. He advocated military rule in the relocation centers and warned against "a nationally organized movement to soften the American public" in its attitude toward the Japanese.[22] Lechner feared that the purpose of this was to "pave the way for a negotiated peace with Japan."[23]

The Committee's conclusions regarding the Japanese, although not confirmed by the material in the official reports, were as follows:

> The committee does not contend, and never has contended, that all Japanese evacuees are disloyal to the United States. As a result of intensive investigation the committee finds that the great majority of *Issei* (foreign-born Japanese) are loyal to Japan. . . . the *Issei* . . . if given the opportunity, would do everything in their power to further the war aims of Japan. The Committee finds that the *Kebei* (American-born Japanese who have spent several years in Japan for purported educational purposes) are definitely in the "suspect" class as far as loyalty to the United States is concerned. The committee finds that the *Nisei* (American-born Japanese) were, to a great extent, engaged in pro-Japanese activities before Pearl Harbor. Many of these American-born Japanese are disloyal to the United States, while many of them have illustrated by their conduct since Pearl Harbor their loyalty to the land of their birth.[24]

The Committee's view of the Japanese "danger" was at considerable variance with other studies of the problem. Professor Morton Grodzins, of the University of Chicago, pointed out that

> In the absence of more compelling, direct proof [of Japanese subversion], the public arguments dwelt largely on special dangers of the Japanese population, and these allegations were also largely without basis. It was not true that Japanese refused to cooperate with government intelligence agencies. It was not true that the dual citizenship status of some Japanese Americans was a unique mark of divided loyalties. It was not true that distribution of Japanese-held property showed migration for the purpose of sabotage. It was not true that the retention of Old World culture patterns was either a sign of special danger or different from other minority groups. It was not true . . . that the Japanese race, as such, was inscrutable, that a "good" Japanese could not be distinguished from a "bad" one, or that loyalty was a matter of biology.[25]

In addition to its investigation of alleged Japanese subversion, the Committee connected the Japanese problem to the ubiquitous Communist menace. Basing its conclusions largely on the editorial policy of the Communist newspaper, *The People's Daily World,* the Committee summarized the Communist Party line in 1942:

> All Communists are ordered to minimize the Japanese danger. All large military efforts in the United States must be directed to Europe. Our immediate task is the defeat of Hitler and the protection of the Soviet Union. Smear anyone who advocates major activities against Japan at the present time. Our historic course with Japan will be determined at the conclusion of the war with Germany. Meanwhile our traditional role as the champion of racial equality must be maintained.[26]

The Committee further concluded, although without offering substantive evidence, that the Communists had made inroads into the Japanese population of California and that any future Communist policy on Japan would be determined by the demands of Soviet foreign policy. This part of the Committee's assessment was probably accurate, but the fact that the American Communist Party parroted the Soviet line was hardly a revelation from on high.

## III

During World War II, the Committee spent considerable time and effort investigating the Sinarquista movement.[27] The Sinarquistas were an authoritarian group that originated in Mexico in 1937, as the result of a merger of several native Mexican groups with another organization called Centro Anti-Comunista. The latter organization had been founded in the state of Guanajuato by a German engineer and college teacher named Oscar Schreiter. The Sinarquistas were strongly religious and militantly anti-Communist. They emphasized strong discipline, followed a stern moral code, and practiced an intense patriotism, but strongly at odds with the official anticlericalism of the Mexican revolution. Their organization was semimilitary in character and their economic beliefs contained substantial elements of corporatism. The Sinarquista movement in the United States was strongest in Southern California and drew its members mainly from middle-class Mexican nationals.

The Committee became interested in the Sinarquistas in 1942, as a result of attacks on them in the Communist press. The Communists accused the Sinarquistas of organizing a Fascist fifth-column among Mexican-American youth, particularly in the zoot-suit gangs. Later, the Communists would hold them partially responsible for the Zoot-Suit Riots of 1943. The Committee, in its investigation of the Zoot-Suit Riots, placed the blame squarely on the Communists.[28] Consequently, the Committee's investigation of the Sinarquistas deals at length with Communist or alleged Communist activities in Southern California.

The Committee often appeared to be more concerned with Communist than with Sinarquista activities. One of the Committee's stated purposes in conducting the investigation was to determine if the attack on the Sinarquistas was "merely another smear campaign by American Communists for their own sinister purposes."[29] A number of people were subpoenaed in order to substantiate charges that had been made against the Sinarquistas. The Committee's questioning of Philip M. Connelly, State CIO President, demonstrated its purposes:

> Q. Then . . . if I understand your testimony correctly, you have no interest or have you made any allegations in reference to the *Sinarquista* movement?
>
> A. [Connelly] We would be interested . . . in any fifth column activities which might manifest itself in our unions, either to the detriment of the unions or the detriment of this country.
>
> Q. Any organization that would be disruptive to the organization?
>
> A. Any fifth column organization, indeed.
>
> Q. Would that include the Communist Party?
>
> A. In the event the Communist Party proved to be such a disruptive and fifth column organization, it certainly would.
>
> Q. Do you feel that it is such an organization?
>
> A. I am in no position to pass judgment on that. I have no evidence on which to base an answer.
>
> Q. You have had no connection with or knowledge of the Communist Party and its activities?
>
> A. That is a broad question. I have general knowledge that there is a Communist Party.
>
> Q. Well, from your knowledge of the Communist Party would you say it would be a subversive organization?
>
> A. I have no knowledge to indicate it is.[30]

The Committee took similar testimony from Sinarquista leaders, in line with its objective of determining the truth in the dispute between Sinarquistas and Communists.[31] After reading into the record an article that accused the Sinarquistas of being the most dangerous Fascist movement in Hispanic America, the Committee elicited the following testimony from Pedro Villaseñor, chief of the Los Angeles Sinarquista organization:

Q. [Combs] Have you ever seen that before, or anything similar?
A. [Villaseñor] No, I haven't read it.
Q. Is anything contained in the article true?
A. Absolutely nothing.
Q. It is absolutely false?
A. I was — I am just surprised all these people who lie about the movement over there.

……

Q. It is your opinion, Mr. Villaseñor, that most of these attacks and most of this which you have termed propaganda against your movement, is inspired from Communist sources?
A. (Nods head affirmatively) — yes, sir.
Q. Your movement is very militantly and very aggressively anti-Communist?
A. Yes, sir; absolutely.
Q. One of the principal tenets of your organization —
A. (Interrupting) One of the principles because the Communists in Mexico have done very much to harm the country. They agitate the country, the people, and it is one of the principles of the *Sinarquistas* to be against the ideas of the Communists.[32]

The testimony taken from Martín Cabrera, Southern California chief of the Sinarquistas, followed much the same pattern as Villaseñor's:

Q. [Combs] Is your organization anti-Communist?
A. [Cabrera] Definitely, yes.
Q. Very much, isn't it?
A. Very much, yes.
Q. And always has been?
A. Always has been.

……

Q. Is it your feeling that the Communist Party played any part in the stirring up the recent zoot suit controversy?
A. It is almost a rule whenever they try to put the blame on somebody else, it is a general rule, because they have something themselves.
Q. I see. And have they in this instance endeavored to do that?
A. They have always been trying to put the blame on the *Sinarquista's* shoulders.[33]

The Committee followed its investigation of the Sinarquista movement with conclusions that amounted to a clean bill of health:

> Committee investigators could find nothing conspiratorial in the manner in which the organization conducted its affairs and nothing was found in the principals [*sic*] and objectives of the organization indicating an attack upon the Government of the United States or the State of California. Representatives of the Catholic Church were interviewed by committee representatives and it was learned that, so far as the Church was concerned, the *Sinarquista* movement was not considered "subversive."[34]

The Committee's report on the John Birch Society was made public in 1963.[35] As always, the Committee's investigations of the Birch Society was done entirely in secret. The Committee's action had come about partly through its own interest in the Society, partly because of demands by the Society's critics that it be investigated, and partly because members of the Society, including founder Robert Welch, had requested an investigation. The information used by the Committee was obtained from newspaper and periodical accounts, from the Committee's own field investigators, and from affidavits by both friends and opponents of the Society. According to Senator Burns, the Committee's stated purpose was as follows:

> As to the John Birch Society, some thought should be given to the function of our committee in relation to the society. Our committee is a factfinding committee in un-American activities. Our sole interest in the John Birch Society must go to the question of whether the society is un-American. We are not interested in investigating the John Birch Society to find out what its views are on Communism. We are only interested in finding out whether the John Birch Society is un-American.[36]

The Committee's report took issue with several of the more extreme statements of Robert Welch. It denied strongly Welch's accusation in *The Politician* that Allen and John Foster Dulles were agents of the Communist conspiracy. It also refuted Welch's charges that Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower contributed to that alleged conspiracy. The Committee took issue with Welch's contention that Boris Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago* had been allowed to circulate in the United States as part of an insidious Kremlin-led master plan to subtly convert Americans to Marxism.[37] Despite its general refutation of Welch's statements, the Committee did not entirely connect Welch and the Society.

In a portion of its report on the Birch Society labeled "Guilt by Association," the Committee, consistent with its past behavior, endorsed the idea of judging a man by the company he keeps, but strictly qualified this view for members of the Birch Society:

> the inescapable conclusion is that few members agree with Welch that the national figures mentioned in *The Politician* were subversive — consciously or otherwise — or that the Kremlin concocted the finely spun plots to circulate the books by Pasternak and Djilas. On the contrary, there is much evidence to the effect that many of the society's national council members have vainly asked Welch to repudiate the views he expressed in this sensational letter of 1954, and that most of the Birchers regard Welch's early accusations as indefensible and ridiculous.[38]

The Committee further dismisses the charge that the Birch Society was somehow linked with various other anti-Communist, right-wing organizations, as had been indicated by the California Teachers Association's Research Department. The Committee's report included a list of such organizations, but no attempt was made to establish whether any interlocking arrangement existed among these various groups. Certainly, the Committee was much more careful about assuming extensive and even sinister connections among these groups than it had been in previous investigations of left-wing or liberal organizations.

The Committee also refuted charges that the Society was anti-Semitic, secretive, conspiratorial, and fascistic.[39] It expressed considerable sympathy with the general caliber of the Society's members, viewing them as sincere people genuinely concerned about the possible expansion of world Communism and internal Communist subversion. The Committee reiterated that few members agreed with the "rash statements" of Mr. Welch, but found the Society to be an effective instrument for contributing to the fight against the Communists. Some members of the Society are "highly emotional and unstable," but the average member is well informed, avidly reading much of the material available on subversion, particularly that on the approved book list of the Society.[40]

The attitudes and response of the Communist Party to the Birch Society were of particular interest to the Committee, confirming once again the fact that no Committee investigation is ever solely an investigation of "non-Communist" activities. In its observation of the Communists' campaign to discredit the Birch Society, the Committee stated a familiar theme:

> Now, obviously, one must not fall into the error of lumping all critics of the John Birch Society with this Communist-motivated drive by the old united front techniques which we have often described in previous reports. But neither should we be blind to the unified and massive nature of the movement. The Communists have long employed this highly effective technique, most dramatically during the last war, and on numerous occasions with incredible skill and success. They are adept at selecting a particularly offensive phrase, or a susceptible organization and using it indiscriminately against all anti-Communists.[41]

The Committee, though warning, as noted above, of categorizing critics of the Birch Society, leaves a strong implication that almost inevitably the Communist line of the Birchers will filter into the thinking of legitimately anti-Birch groups and individuals, and thus once again sincere Americans will become inadvertent accomplices of Communism.

The Committee reached the following conclusions about the John Birch Society:

> We find the John Birch Society to be a Right, anti-Communist, fundamentalist organization. It was conceived, organized, and is dominated by Mr. Robert Welch. . . . The accusations he made in *The Politician* in 1954 are shared by few of his followers, but he has since made other declarations that are as irresponsible and insusceptible of proof. We have not found the society to be either a secret or a fascist organization, nor have we found the great majority of its members in California to be mentally unstable, crackpots, or hysterical about the threat of Communist subversion.
>
> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
>
> We believe that the reason the John Birch Society has attracted so many members is that it simply appeared to them the most effective, indeed the only, organization through which they could join in a nationwide movement to learn the truth about the Communist menace and then take some positive action to prevent its spread.[42]

## IV

In its investigations of racist organizations, the Committee concentrated most of its efforts on the Black Muslim movement.[43] By definition, "racist organization" means one that preaches race hatred, race separation, or the superiority of one race over another. The Committee's reports on the Muslims are substantially devoted to drawing parallels between them and the Communist Party, but refute charges (the origin of which is not made clear) that the Muslims are pro-Communist or pro-Soviet in their orientation. Their "anti-white fanaticism" prohibits their submergence in any organization or group largely controlled by whites.[44]

The Committee saw many similarities between the Muslims and the Communists. Both are associated with a movement that gives them great hope, dedication, and purpose. Both are fanatical and willing to resort to the use of violence for their own purposes, although the Committee did not thoroughly document its charges of violence against the Muslims. It compared Muslim willingness to use "war" against the white man with Communist support for "wars of national liberation." Both Muslims and Communists, according to the Committee, subscribe to the belief that the end justifies the means.[45]

From its concern with future Communist strategy, the Committee concluded that Communist attitudes toward the Muslims are similar to their views of the Trotskyites in 1940, at the time of the first Smith Act trials. Then the Communists, fearing the competition of the Trotskyites for the allegiance of radical socialists, supported the Smith Act convictions of their competitors, although in 1949, during the trial of Communist Party leaders, they decried the act as unconstitutional and designed to restrict free speech. The Committee's implication was that the Communists, fearing Muslim competition, would act toward prosecutions of the Muslims as they did toward the Trotskyites. At best, this analogy seems rather strained.

The Committee's conclusions as to the true nature of the Black Muslims have varied somewhat at different times:

> Now there is another group that is competing with the Communists for the Negro minority. It, too, is based on force and violence and class hatred. It, too, operates in secrecy and is based on a fanatic adherence to a potent ideology. It, too, advocates the forcible overthrow of the government, indeed, of the entire white race.[46]

The Committee's tone was completely hostile in the report of Muslim activities made in 1961 (above), but showed much less stridency and a greater awareness of complexity two years later:

> While it is true that the Black Muslim has preached a hatred of white people, there is no question about its accomplishing much good for many of its own

> members.... This rigid discipline and fanatic faith have produced amazing results in rehabilitating many semi-literate Negroes who were alcoholics, drug addicts, and habitual criminals.[47]

In addition to its general denunciation of the Black Muslims, the Committee has condemned as "hate groups" the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, and the National States Rights Party.[48] The latter, particularly, was regarded by the Committee as "more potentially dangerous than . . . the American Nazi groups," because of its activist nature. Committee investigation of these organizations has not been extensive enough to warrant further space in this article, except that the Committee considers them to be dangerous and subversive organizations.

## V

No assessment of the State Un-American Activities Committee's investigation of non-Communist organizations can really be separated from its investigation of Communism. Limiting the influence of Communism has always been the principal *raison d'être* of the Committee, and doubtless this will be true as long as there is a Committee. Nearly 90 percent of the Committee's major reports has been primarily concerned with Communism and, even in investigations of non-Communist groups, Communism has been an important related issue. This has been done by showing parallels between Communist and non-Communist organizations by frequent reiterations of the need to be aware of the Communist danger and by continually demonstrating how people, although they might be misled by other organizations, are much more likely to be "used" or "duped" by Communists. The Committee never fails to show relationships of some type with the Communists, as in the investigations of the Sinarquistas, the German-American Bund, the Japanese, and the Black Muslims. The result has been a less than thorough effort to establish "un-Americanism" among right-wing groups.

The validity of conclusions by any investigating committee in a democratic society must stand or fall on the question of how well that committee adheres to democratic principles. In this respect, the State Un-American Activities Committee has serious shortcomings. The Committee holds its hearings in secret and keeps confidential the manner in which it obtains information. It closes its files to public scrutiny and restricts severely the availability of investigative transcripts. It relies on the testimony of its own "experts," divides witnesses into "friendly" and "hostile," asks the type of question that will elicit the desired response, and frequently unbalances testimony on the side of an issue that it favors. It endorses the validity of "guilt by association," but applies this principle with much greater rigidity to left-liberal organizations than it does to right-wing groups. This point can be validated by comparing the Committee's respective attitudes toward the American Civil Liberties Union and the John Birch Society.

The Committee's reports are "edited." They do not include full, verbatim reporting of Committee investigations, but rather select the material that the Committee wants to include in order to substantiate its own conclusions. The most careful, objective scholar would have great difficulty assessing an issue or an organization from the Committee's reports alone.

Finally, for any legislative committee to conduct fair investigations, particularly on a subject as sensitive as alleged subversive activities, it is mandatory that the committee's membership reflect the ideological composition of the legislature. It should include liberals, conservatives, and if possible, other ideological shadings. One liberal failing over the years has been a reluctance to serve on "subversive activities" committees. The result of this, particularly in California, has been right-wing dominance by default. The liberals' general view that "un-Americanism" is indefinable, and therefore any attempt to investigate un-American activities is *ipso facto* a fallacy, is perhaps accurate, but this has resulted in one-sided, unfair, and often abusive investigations. The former Congressman from Georgia, Charles Weltner, expressed this view in explaining his decision to become a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. It is a logical view. Neither the anti-Communism-run-rampant of Jack Tenney nor the clandestine operations of Richard Combs would be possible if investigating committees were composed of the diverse elements which inspire free, democratic debate.

## NOTES

1. Fully cited as: California Legislature, *Report: Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California.* With the report for 1948, substitute "Senate" for "Joint" Fact-Finding Committee. Henceforth to be cited as *First Report, Second Report,* etc. The reports noted above are: *First Report* (1943); *Second Report* (1945); *Eleventh Report* (1961); *Twelfth Report* (1963); *Thirteenth Report* (1965); and *Thirteenth Report Supplement* (1966).

2. These categories are largely based on distinctions made by the Committee itself. The Committee also makes a distinction between Nazi and Fascist.

3. For the Committee's investigation of Mankind United, see *First Report,* pp. 353-382, and *Second Report,* pp. 32-45.

4. Edward L. Barrett, Jr., *The Tenney Committee: Legislative Investigation of Subversive Activities in California* (Ithaca, New York, 1951), p. 5.

5. The Dies Committee was the U. S. House of Representatives' Temporary Committee to Investigate Subversive Activities, chaired by Representative Martin Dies of Texas. It was the forerunner of the present House Committee on Un-American Activities.

6. Barrett, *The Tenney Committee,* p. 5. Excerpt taken from *Hollywood Now,* publication of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League.

7. *Fourth Report,* p. 51.

8. Jack B. Tenney, *The Tenney Committee: The American Record* (Tujunga, California, 1952), pp. 5-6. Throughout his book, Senator Tenney refers to himself in third person.

9. See Barrett, *The Tenney Committee,* pp. 315-329; also, Tenney's defense, in his own book, pp. 24-31.

10. Mary Ellen Leary, "California's Lonely Secret Agent," *Los Angeles Times West Magazine* (April 2, 1967), pp. 34-35.

11. For the Committee's investigations of Nazism, see *First Report,* pp. 218-352, and *Second Report,* pp. 7-31, 45-65.

12. *First Report,* p. 275.

13. *Ibid.,* p. 227.

14. *Ibid.,* p. 229.

15. *Ibid.,* p. 247.

16. *Ibid.,* p. 273.

17. *Ibid.,* pp. 282-321.

18. For an examination of Nazi activities in America, see John Roy Carlson, *Under Cover* (New York, 1943).

19. *First Report,* pp. 325-328, 329-330, 337-338, 346-352.

20. Morton Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuations* (Chicago, 1949), p. 50.

21. *Ibid.,* p. 51.

22. *First Report,* p. 350.

23. *Ibid.,* p. 352.

24. *Second Report,* pp. 64-65.

25. Grodzins, *Americans Betrayed,* pp. 170-171.

26. *Second Report,* p. 60.

27. For the Committee's investigations of the Sinarquistas, see *First Report,* pp. 200-217, and *Second Report,* pp. 197-210.

28. *Second Report,* p. 209.

29. *First Report,* p. 208.

30. *Ibid.,* pp. 210-211.

31. *Second Report,* p. 198.

32. *Ibid.,* p. 204.

33. *Ibid.,* p. 206.

34. *Ibid.,* pp. 206-207.

35. For the Committee's investigation of the John Birch Society see *Twelfth Report,* pp. 1-62.

36. *Ibid.,* p. 2.

37. *Ibid.,* pp. 5-11.

38. *Ibid.,* pp. 12-13.

39. *Ibid.,* pp. 38-39.

40. *Ibid.,* pp. 42-43.

41. *Ibid.,* p. 50.

42. *Ibid.,* pp. 61-62.

43. For the Committee's investigations of the Black Muslims, see *Eleventh Report,* pp. 131-137, and *Twelfth Report,* pp. 194-196.

44. *Eleventh Report,* p. 135.

45. *Ibid.,* pp. 136-137.

46. *Ibid.,* p. 138.

47. *Twelfth Report,* p. 195.

48. *Ibid.,* pp. 197-198.

# A Salute to the Port of Los Angeles
# From Mud Flats to Modern Day Miracle

*By* ANNA MARIE HAGER

It is difficult to visualize all the changes that have transpired since Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo's initial entry into the wide, placid bay now called the Port of Los Angeles.

From his anchorage at Catalina Island in 1542, Rodríguez Cabrillo was beckoned into the large bay by the billowing clouds of smoke towering over a slooping hill that loomed high over the coastline. Besides the smoke, he observed the steep yellow bluffs banking the shoreline, encircling a broad roadstead that he promptly named the Bahía de los Fumos (Bay of Smokes).

Fifty years after Rodríguez's visit, Sebastián Vizcaíno entered the beautiful large bay and gave it another name, San Andrés. When cosmographer, José González Cabrera Bueno began to compile nautical charts from the Vizcaíno surveys an error was discovered. The day on which Vizcaíno actually entered the bay was the feast day of Saint Peter's. Cabrera Bueno made the correction, and ever since 1592 the name officially established has been San Pedro.

Time will not permit me to dwell on the many dedicated men of vision and foresight who realized the great potentials for a splendid commercial harbor waiting to be developed in San Pedro Bay. I can only salute such noted names as Domínguez, Sepúlveda, Abel Stearns, Phineas T. Banning, John Gaffey, and Stephen Mallory White, as well as members of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, for their untiring efforts in behalf of the future "Gateway to the World." Acknowledgement should be given to those civil and public servants who helped carry to fruition the dreams for a great harbor — men such as Captain Amos A. Fries, Clarence Matson, Eloi Amar, and Bernard Coughlin.

It was through the ingenuity of many men, some of great engineering skill, that a great transformation of an island-filled, marsh-lined bay has taken place.

Phineas T. Banning was one of these men of ingenuity. He, along with Joseph and Robert Widney, was instrumental in having Los Angeles placed on the Southern Pacific Railroad line running from San Francisco through the San Joaquín Valley eastward to Texas. In 1855 Banning secured an appropriation from the state legislature to establish a road from San Pedro to Cajón Pass in the direction of Salt Lake City. It was on this road that one of the earliest overland mail services was inaugurated. Drum Barracks, the Los Angeles and San Pedro

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Railway, and the first breakwater were all brought about by Banning's great activating force in the harbor district from 1852 until his death in 1885.

George H. Peck, a second man of ingenuity in the development of San Pedro during this early period, first saw the harbor area in the 1870's. As a young adult and as an astute purchaser, he eventually acquired much of San Pedro and over one-half of Manhattan Beach. He is credited as the developer of the Point Fermín Peninsula and founder of the Bank of San Pedro. Peck was revered by the working people of the harbor area for his understanding and generosity during times of unemployment and personal disasters. He donated over 150 acres of land for parks as well as establishing a two million dollar trust fund for the maintenance and beautification of these lands. Leland and Alma Parks are named for two of his children, and the vast 77-acre scenic park adjacent to Western Avenue was named Peck Park in honor of the donor.

Actual Los Angeles interest in the harbor district had its rebirth with the fading of the Boom of the Eighties. Interest was revived with the establishment of the Los Angeles Terminal Railway that ran from the city of Los Angeles to Rattlesnake Island. (Later this line was purchased and changed to the Salt Lake, Los Angeles and Terminal Railway.) With this new business venture entering the San Pedro waterfront the Southern Pacific Railroad lost its almost complete freight monopoly. Faced with competition, the Southern Pacific sought a harbor of its own at Santa Monica where it controlled the entire waterfront.

This marked the beginning of the "Free Harbor" fight.

In 1889, as members of the United States Senate Committee on Commerce, Senators Leland Stanford and William B. Frye visited the San Pedro Bay. Senator Frye of Maine favored Santa Monica over San Pedro. To say the least, he was quite prejudiced, and he failed to make a favorable impression in Southern California because of his comments concerning San Pedro:

> Deadman's Island! Rattlesnake! I should think it would scare a mariner to death to come into such a place! You people in southern California propose to ask the government to create a harbor for you, almost out of whole cloth. The Lord has not given you much to start with, that is certain. It will cost four or five million to build, you say: well — is your whole country worth that much?

The harbor battle lasted five years, United States Senator Stephen Mallory White was the dominant figure in winning the victory for a "Free Harbor" at San Pedro. Despite Senator Frye's comments about Deadman's and Rattlesnake islands, in 1897 the Walker Board claimed San Pedro Bay the best location for a harbor.

Almost as important and as interesting as the "Free Harbor Fight" were the several small islands that were located in the Inner Bay before dredging and other operations tied them to the mainland. Although there were four islands worth mentioning — Mormon, Boschke (now known as Smith), Deadman's, and Rattlesnake, only the latter two merit a historical account.

The largest island, Deadman's, blocked the entrance to the Inner Bay. It remained unnamed for more than 250 years although it was duly recorded on the early charts of Vizcaíno and other explorers. About 1810, Southern Californians began referring to the 800-foot long, 250-foot wide and 60-foot high island as La Isla del Muerto. This the Yankees quickly Americanized to "Deadman's Island!"

The conical peaked island faced the blue Pacific and served as a familiar landmark and guide to mariners when seeking refuge from storms at sea. In addition, for many years the island served a most prosaic humane need. It was a cemetery that protected the dead buried there from the ravages of the "robbers of the plains," the prowling coyotes. Yet, not all who found final resting place on Deadman's Island were mariners as would be expected. The wife of Captain Parker of the ship *Laura Bevan* became part of the island's ghostly crew; so did Black Hawk, the last male Indian from San Nicolás Island.

The dead, however, did not enjoy the privacy of the island. Legends of hidden pirate plunder lured fortune hunters to literally honeycomb the island's surface. Later numerous souvenir seekers and visitors to the island desecrated nature even more. Unfortunately many happy summers were spent by the local "Tom Sawyers" prowling over the island. In 1893, six local "Toms" uncovered a rough, redwood coffin and reported their findings to the authorities. Various civic and military agencies including an English society in Los Angeles took charge of exhuming the bodies to a more fitting and final place of rest.

Somewhat more respectful and thoughtful was the activity of one-time writer-sportsman Charles Frederick Holder. He urged that a suitable monument to Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo be placed on Deadman's Island. This idea, however, failed to materialize and the island continued to be used for various recreational activities.

When prohibition came on the scene, rum-runners appreciated the vantage-point the island offered — its sides pitted with numerous small caves proved most convenient for storing contraband liquids. Such use of the island, however, came to an abrupt end with the repeal of Prohibition. The rapid growth of the harbor in the late 1920's marked Deadman's Island as an obstruction to navigation and led to its eventual destruction.

Dynamite and dredgers revealed the little island's many secrets. When a large portion of the westerly end was torn away, some fifteen human skeletons were revealed. One skull was pierced with an ancient stone arrowhead dating it back to primitive Indian days. On June 1, 1929, the last heavy blast uncovered three adjacent graves — two men and a woman. Above the woman's head was a mass of red-gold hair, the men wore the overfold boots characteristic of the sixteenth century. The hilt of an ancient cutlass lay by the side of one.

The island, however, was not to reveal any further secrets. A thousand-foot channel necessary for the continued development and growth of the Port of Los Angeles necessitated the demolition of this historic landmark. The residue of Deadman's Island was added to the southerly end of Terminal Island's Reservation Point.

Before its destruction, countless tourists, school children, and treasure seekers scoured the little island. Who tallied their finds or kept record of what they saw or disturbed? Speculation keeps the memory of this strange, vanished island of a never-ending interest.

Not as intriguing as Deadman's Island, but of greater historical importance was Rattlesnake Island. Because of the thousands of rattlesnakes that were being washed out of their mountain homes and carried down by torrential rains to a spit of sand dunes in San Pedro Bay, the Spaniards gave the picturesque name La Isla de la Culebra de Cascabel (Island of the Rattlesnake) to the little sandbar. All too soon another lilting Spanish name was brusquely shortened to Rattlesnake and later renamed Terminal when the Terminal Railway Line was completed.

On the ocean side of Terminal Island's west end, a beautiful bathing area was to be found. Named Brighton Beach, it soon became the Mecca of the southland. The beach receded gradually, the water being quite shallow permitted bathers to go out a considerable distance into the blue waters of the Bay.

Brighton Beach was soon developed into a most exclusive seaside resort and was considered second only to San Diego's famed Coronado. Other diversions besides swimming included the excitement of rowing by moonlight in and out of the sloughs of Wilmington and around Mormon Island. Or, if a person thought he or she could stand the pace, churn up the waters by day in launches guaranteed to do all of twelve miles an hour, "if you opened 'em up!"

So attractive was Brighton Beach to Jackson A. Graves, president of the Farmers & Merchants Bank, that he devoted a chapter in his autobiography, *Seventy Years in California,* to his Terminal Island home (built in 1889) and to the summers he spent there. Graves wrote:

> What a wonderful place Brighton Beach was for bathing and the grand sight to sit on our porch and watch the summer storms. Waves would come in towards shore that were much higher than our house. A stranger would have thought that everything would be enveloped — but owing to the shallowness of the water, the bottom of the wave would drag, and cause the mass of water to fall before it reached the shore-line.

More than 200 homes were established in or adjacent to the resort area. Homes on Seaside Avenue, the main thoroughfare, stood facing south with the sea rippling across the tawny sands within 25 feet of their doorsteps. The homes were decorated in the elegance which prevailed in that era: ornamental mantels with plush runners from which dangled rows of little furry balls; snapshot albums piled high on marble-topped tables; portieres made of hundreds of tiny seashells carefully and lovingly sewn together; and the inevitable clusters of fringe-edged pillows embroidered with words and pictures with such choice mottoes as "Daisies won't tell!"

Other important residents of Brighton Beach included Judge Russ Avery, Harry Callender, Joseph F. Sartori, Sumner P. Hunt, C. D. Willard, Ferdinand K. Rule, William Bosbyshell, J. S. Slauson, Thomas E. Gibbons, and W. D. Woolwine. Gail Borden of condensed milk fame brought his family to the resort for several years before selling his fine home to W. I. Hollingsworth.

Besides houses, Terminal Island had the usual resort hotel of that era. The island's first hotel, the Glenburnie, became very popular, and many prominent families spent their summers there. Such noted personalities as Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Holladay, Francis J. Thomas, Hugh Vail, H. L. Macneil and their son Sayre, Mrs. Kate Vosburg and her sons Murray and Keith, Harry Carr, and Judge and Mrs. Charles Silent and their daughter Florence registered at the Glenburnie.

Incidentally, it was Florence Silent who shocked the little colony one fine summer day by appearing in a knee-length black taffeta bathing suit. Indeed, the puffed sleeves came almost to her elbows and her black shoes and stockings hid her limbs. It was a daring departure that kept neighbors talking.

Brighton Beach, like other natural monuments, fell before Los Angeles' environmental onslaught. The construction of the massive breakwater wrought tremendous physical changes within the bay. Miles and miles of white sand were pumped out when excavation began in the Inner Harbor. The sand was then deposited in front of Brighton Beach. Where the ocean once came to within twenty-five feet of the fine beach homes, the water's edge receded almost a mile away. Prominent home owners soon lost interest and forsook Brighton Beach for newer resorts.

Not all the activity was confined to Brighton Beach, Terminal Island's west end. Tiny huts on stilts, much like barnacles, clung to the sand spit of government tidelands on the bay side of the old breakwater between Terminal and Deadman's Island. Soon a little town emerged without the benefit of being surveyed or "laid out," in an orderly manner. The little buildings straggled along in haphazardous clusters and were "home" for a group of squatters, fishermen, and artists. These unauthorized residents lived in almost daily expectation of being ordered to "move on," and consequently did not build substantial homes as those erected on Brighton Beach. This area received the name of East San Pedro and its population, in addition to the artist colony, consisted of Italians, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Yugoslavians, and Scandinavians.

The picturesque lives of these seafaring people attracted a considerable group of artists and writers. Idah Meecham Strowbridge is credited as the literary discoverer of the colorful waterfront "stilt-town." She converted an old bathhouse into a distinctive cottage and named it the "Wickiup." Soon Amanda Matthews, Olive Percival, and other well-known writers chose the place to combine recreation and study during the summer months.

Perhaps, one of the more spectacular summer residents was Charles Fletcher Lummis, former Librarian of the Los Angeles Public Library, City Editor for the Los Angeles *Times*, and founder of the Southwest Museum. In a letter to John Cotton Dana, dated 1908, Lummis described his East San Pedro homelife:

> I dictate while fishing on week-ends at my little shack, the "Jib-O-Jib," on the old breakwater. The tides run up under the house and we catch good big fish, like halibut or rock bass from the back porch. A bed spring with a cow bell on it holds each line. When the back door bell rings, we stampede out to give a glad hand to our finny guest. It is remarkable how easy fish learn good manners.

In addition to the eccentric Lummis, East San Pedro numbered other important personalities. Ralph Mocine, Carl Oscar Borg, John M. Donovan, William H. Cole, Norman St. Claire, and Lillian Draine were some of the artists who lived in the seaside colony.

This phase of Terminal Island's history came to an end when the little shacks were condemned and destroyed to facilitate dredging and improvement of the Main Channel.

With the 1909 annexation of San Pedro and Wilmington as well as of the marshy tidelands and of Terminal Island to the rapidly growing and ambitious city of Los Angeles, change was confirmed.

The proud old summer houses of Brighton Beach developed into year-round residences for workers in the lumberyards, canneries, and oil companies. People began going to the island on business rather than for pleasure. Finally, numerous man-made additions changed the contour and enlarged Terminal Island.

With the beginning of World War II, all residents were removed from Terminal Island, approximately two thousand Caucasians and three thousand Japanese left — never to return to their island homes again.

One lone reminder of the days when Terminal Island was home to thousands remains on Ocean Avenue, the small, one-time school house. All other structures were razed to make room for necessary military expansion in the harbor area. Now only place and street names remain to evoke hidden memories of the not so distant past that was Terminal Island's.

Subsidence plagued the island during the 1950's until conquered through the miracle of modern-day engineering. A constant din of industry can now be heard throughout the Island. Enormous ships load and unload at the huge docks. Shipbuilding yards and their massive ways are visible, and long rows of canneries and manufacturing firms dot the area — all contribute to the sounds of present-day Terminal Island in the Bay.

The new United States Custom House on Terminal Island will soon be joined by the official headquarters of the Los Angeles Harbor Department.

Tying the Island to the mainland is the soaring and beautiful Vincent Thomas Bridge, spanning the Main Channel — Southern California's first major suspension bridge. The toll station for the bridge occupies the area once known as Brighton Beach.

The tremendous transformation of an expanse of mud flats into a port, one of the busiest in the world, in only a few decades, is an engineering miracle. Los Angeles has truly become the gateway through which products of the entire southwest reach the farthest corners of the globe.

In tribute to a great lady, Mabel Ward Cory, librarian in the harbor area for over thirty years, and counselor and guide for hundreds of young men and women, I should like to read one of her poems about her hometown and mine.

My home is in a sunny town
  That wades knee-deep in tide
To welcome all the sailing world
  With sea-wall arms flung wide.
Behind the town stand noble hills
  To greet the rising sun,
As green as Ireland when the rains
  Of winter have begun.
Along the streets that climb and turn
  dark foreign faces pass,
A black-haired man with steady eyes,
  a gaily kerchiefed lass.
Bright flags are moored along our wharves
  From countries far away,
And fishing fleets go out at dawn
  across a silver bay.
I would not live in Amsterdam,
  in Rome, or Arcady,
But only in this little town
  at crossroads of the sea.

Thank you.

# The Gianninis—Men of the Renaissance

*By* DWIGHT L. CLARKE

## II

A. P. GIANNINI and his youngest brother, George, closely resembled each other facially, although George was taller and heavier. George in manner was more quiet and did not exert the magnetism for which A. P. was noted. Attilio Henry was the middle brother. He had sharper, more Italian features than the other two, and while of overaverage height was shorter and of lighter build than his brothers. He was very erect and habitually quick in his movements and his speech. In profile, he resembled some of the heads one sees on Roman coins. More than one portrait on the walls of the Medici Gallery bears a close resemblance to Doctor A. H. Giannini.

Known to all his familiars as "Doc," he was born near Alviso, Santa Clara County, in 1874. While still a small boy, his family moved to San Francisco where he was educated in the public schools and at St. Ignatius College. Then he entered the University of California's Medical School where he obtained his degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1897. He started to practice his profession in San Francisco and in time became president of the County Medical Society. He served in the United States Army Medical Corps in the Spanish-American War and won distinction in the typhoid wards and in the care of smallpox victims. After the April 1906 holocaust in San Francisco, when typhus fever became threatening and other doctors shunned the task, Dr. Giannini took charge of the pest house and cared for the victims of the epidemic.

He was a member of San Francisco's famous "reform" board of supervisors, appointed by another versatile medico, Mayor Edward Robeson Taylor, in his campaign to cleanse the city's administration after the downfall of the Ruef and Schmitz gang of boodling politicians. In this position Doctor Giannini played a prominent part in winning for San Francisco its Hetch Hetchy water system.

Even while still practicing medicine, he had doubled as a bank officer and started several of the earliest branches of the Bank of Italy, later to become the present Bank of America. Time devoted to the bank interfered more and more with his medical practice until he was forced to give up the latter. In 1919 he moved to New York and took charge of the Bowery East River National Bank when that institution was acquired by Bancitaly Corporation.

He remained there until 1931 when he returned to California to become the Bank of America's senior executive in Southern California with headquarters in Los Angeles. Therefore in the earlier years of my own close association with A. P. and Mario Giannini I had had no opportunity to become acquainted with the Doctor.

He and I first met in the spring of 1932 when he walked into the Bakersfield branch of the Bank of America, of which I was then vice-president and manager. After introducing himself, he told me he was driving through the valley and wanted to inquire about the roads leading to the coast. We had a brief but pleasant visit. The reason he gave for his call seemed so slight that in view of what transpired a few months later, I have sometimes thought the real purpose of that visit was to form his own opinion about me.

Later that summer while I was vacationing in Hawaii, Will Morrish, then president of the bank, asked me to return via San Francisco so that we could discuss an important matter. At that time the bank's Southern California business was divided into three districts, one covering the offices in Los Angeles and the other two the remaining branches in the ten southern counties. The executive vice-presidents in charge of these three districts were under Dr. Giannini's direction. Friction had developed between the Doctor and the heads of the two outlying districts. Management had decided to move these two officers to other posts and to consolidate their districts into one, under a single executive vice-president.

I learned all of this during my meeting with Morrish when I reached San Francisco. I was told that I had been selected for this new position and that Dr. Giannini had approved my appointment. Would I be willing to move to Los Angeles and undertake these responsibilities? This was an opportunity and a challenge; I soon accepted the assignment.

President Morrish and Dr. Giannini were good friends, yet Morrish and several of the other senior officers remarked during that interview that some men found it difficult to work with Dr. Giannini. His was a strong personality that on occasion clashed with others. I was diplomatically cautioned not to be discouraged if he was at times brusque or sharp tempered. The unspoken theme of that advice was "try to get along with Doc."

I must confess that I assumed my new position on September 7, 1932, with some trepidation. That was not caused so much by what I had heard in San Francisco as by the reception given me in Los Angeles by my two predecessors. Both had been my good friends for several years. They greeted me with mingled emotions, rejoicing for their own almost immediate departure — and long-faced commiseration for the horrible future in store for me. One of them cheerfully predicted my fate: "I give you not over six months!" According to this prophet of disaster, I was facing an experience worse than Dante's inferno. I had been informed that these gentlemen would remain in Los Angeles long enough to brief me on the problems, personalities, etc., of the branches I was taking over. They did, but "brief" best applies to the time they spent on this task. They literally had their bags packed awaiting my arrival and left before the day was over.

Dr. Giannini's own welcome was cordial and lacked any indication that I need fear the stormy weather that had been predicted.

"You've probably been told that I'm a tough guy to work with," he smiled cynically, "You don't need to admit it. I know the gang up north." (This was the term he frequently used in referring to the senior management of the bank in

San Francisco.) "I don't think I'm tough but I won't stand for four-flushers and doublecrossers. I can spot a phony as far as I can see him. Shoot straight with me and we'll get along fine."

He had much less to say about my predecessors than they had about him; his few remarks on that subject were tart and uncomplimentary. After that first interview I cannot recall that he ever again mentioned these officers. Within a week we were on the best of terms. We did not always agree about mutual problems, but the important thing was that he always respected my opinion, even when he good naturedly assured me I was wrong. In the nearly four years of our association our arguments, although sometimes spirited, never once were angry; an air of give and take always prevailed.

My orientation, while difficult enough, was made easier by the fact that my predecessors left behind them a corps of able assistants, headed by Ralph Rehorn, who ultimately succeeded me.

I soon discovered that although Doc occasionally lacked detailed information concerning questions we discussed, he displayed an uncanny intuition concerning individuals and the motives that governed them. All the Gianninis were more intuitive than the average man, but in this quality Doc excelled his brother and nephew. I visited my branches frequently; he rarely did, so the facts I gathered and his judgment of the personalities involved complemented each other. Within a short time we were working together smoothly. I also benefitted by a close observation of his methods of deduction and analysis.

Remembering Morrish's original admonition that I "try to get along with Doc," something happened in July, 1936, which seemed conclusive proof that I had succeeded. Dr. Giannini was then retiring from the bank to become president of United Artists. He had many warm friends who planned to give him a farewell banquet. There had to be a speaker who would express the group's esteem and good wishes. Doc was asked his preference. Although by that time I had left the bank to take over the management of the Occidental Life Insurance Company of California, Dr. Giannini told the committee that he would like me to deliver the address.

Dr. Giannini was just as much of an individualist as A. P. Some intimates of both men thought Doc warmer than his brother. He was more temperamental, quick to react either joyously or in anger. Perhaps the word volatile best describes his personality. When irritated he would at times fly into a rage and pepper his outbursts with picturesque profanity and pointed epithet. But though he could flare up easily, he would just as quickly subside. A saving grace was his keen sense of humor and underlying good nature; best of all, he could poke fun at himself. A favorite remark of his was, "Well, we have to have our laugh a day." What is too rare in temperamental persons, he was big enough to admit an error when he discovered that he had been mistaken in some word or action.

Dr. Giannini shared A. P.'s quality of boldness. He was proud of having started the school savings system of the Bank of Italy in its pioneer period. From its beginning, he always maintained that the initial lack of profit would eventually be offset by this first contact with future potential depositors. Time amply justified this faith. He displayed the same courageous innovative spirit in motion picture financing. Like his brother, the fact that something had never been done before was no reason why it should not be tried. If a man seemed honest and appeared to the Doctor to know what he was doing, he would go a long way to help him.

I recall one instance where this courage and boldness meant the difference between success and failure for an infant enterprise. As Los Angeles began to emerge from the depression of the thirties, a group of local men put all their resources into a new project which they believed would fill a growing need in Southern California. They bought a large, well located tract and erected extensive, specialized improvements. By the time these were finished, the backers had run out of money. Especially in those uncertain times, a loan on untried, special purpose structures lacked any appeal to financial institutions. Yet the new enterprise had to have a sizeable amount of cash for operating expenses or it could not begin business. The promoters thought that the public would patronize the establishment the moment its doors opened. They requested help from the Bank of America. This was no usual, run of the mill loan application. The owners obviously were unable to point to any results achieved; all they had was a brand new, empty, silent plant and an idea. One needed imagination to associate success with it.

Dr. Giannini had known the leader of the enterprise as an honest man in a wholly different field. Doc took two or three of us to inspect the property.

"I'm almost certain this thing will pay," he told us, "they assure me all bills for construction have been paid, but now they are out of cash. Suppose somebody claims they owe an unpaid bill for labor or materials, he could sue and file a lien against all this property, also tie up any money we might have advanced. What shall we do about it?" We debated the pros and cons; the latter predominated. Even so, Doc sent for Edmund Nelson, one of the bank's attorneys. "The bank sometimes lends money and takes a trust receipt on personal property left in the hands of the borrower for its loan collateral. Can't you draw a trust receipt for the cash these people need for opening expenses? Our armored truck could take them the money each morning. The company would give our driver this trust receipt for the cash, and the truck would pick up the cash on hand at the end of the day and have it in our vaults overnight. We would repeat the process daily until these people can get on their feet. Can't you draft a trust receipt that will protect us?"

Nelson shook his head doubtfully. "I never heard of a trust receipt being used like this," he objected. "Let me research it and see if there are any cases in the law reports."

He did not find any but at Doc's insistence made tentative drafts of the required receipt and finally delivered one which he *hoped* would stand up in court against any attaching creditor. Doc gritted his teeth and for several weeks sent the armored truck twice daily to provide that concern with cash to operate until the hard pressed owners had accumulated enough profits to cover their requirements.

Because of such faith in the vision and courage of Dr. Charles Henry Strub, the bank put the beautiful Santa Anita Racetrack on its feet and started it on the long and still flourishing career that has brought employment to thousands and entertainment to millions.

Dr. Giannini displayed similar boldness when he weighed a calculated risk of another sort during the hectic "bank holidays" of 1933. On March 2 Governor Rolph of California proclaimed a holiday, and followed it with identical proclamations for several successive days. The specific purpose of these was to close every bank in the state. Other governors were taking similar action. Banks were failing all around the country at an alarming rate. The moment was undoubtedly the nadir of the great depression. A new president was about to be inaugurated and emergency legislation was being prepared for congressional action. As part of the bank closings, federal authorities issued regulations that prohibited withdrawals of funds from banks. This was soon modified to permit very limited withdrawals for the bare necessities of life. A moratorium suspended the enforcement of all manner of legal obligations, including penalties for nonpayment of taxes. The courts were closed and the wheels of commerce ground to a sudden stop.

The order prohibiting banks from paying any money to their depositors was short and deceptively simple. It did not provide for any exceptions except the necessities of life provision just mentioned. This was loosely construed as placing a maximum of $25 per person per week on any withdrawal for subsistence.

In one of my branches we had a highly valued depositor operating a large wholesale produce business. One of its long established activities was the shipment from the west coast of Mexico of early tomatoes which it distributed through the East and Middle West in advance of the later ripening domestic crop. Just after the moratorium was clamped upon all withdrawals from banks, our customer had a train load of tomatoes arrive at the international border at Nogales, Arizona. United States Customs duty on the twenty odd refrigerator cars of tomatoes amounted, as I recall, to between seven and eight thousand dollars, payable in cash. Our customer had nearly two hundred thousand dollars to its credit in our bank. Ordinarily it drew cash for the amount of the duty, but the edict of the Comptroller of the Currency barred the bank from honoring this customer's perfectly good check. Now complications began to make the telephone and telegraph wires sizzle. Would not the Nogales collector accept our customer's check, which we agreed to certify? He would *not*. The western representative of the Comptroller's office was appealed to. He referred the case to Washington which did not answer.

Meanwhile the train load of tomatoes sat on the tracks south of the border; the ice in the refrigerator cars was steadily melting in the dry heat of the Arizona desert. The reicing station was just a few hundred yards down the track but *north* of the border. Would the collector permit the train to cross the line and move up to the icing plant? The collector would not; his regulations said the duty had to be paid in cash *before* the goods entered the United States.

The ice was getting low in those refrigerators but our customers' tempers were rising even faster. We had carefully explained how our hands were tied. Heavy penalties would be incurred by us if we permitted the desired withdrawal. The officer responsible might even find himself in jail. The customer tartly replied that another federal law required it to pay the government some of the cash we were withholding; otherwise they faced the loss of an entire train load of perishables. We were reminded of the markets in New York, Chicago, and way points that were going to be deprived of tomatoes. We were told what the twenty carloads would bring on their arrival. We saw dark clouds rising that looked like a damage suit.

Doc and I had telephoned appeals to Senators, Congressmen, Cabinet officers and sundry vip.'s. Each had expressed concern — and politely referred us to some other official. We never talked to any one who would assume any responsibility. As the hours wore on, my profanity caught up with Doc's.

"Let's tell Washington," he finally snapped, "that we're not going to let those tomatoes rot, that if we don't get an answer by the close of business today, we're going to pay the necessary cash to the collector in Nogales. If they want to stop us, they'll have to get out an injunction. I would like to see the court that would punish us under these circumstances."

Meanwhile I had secured one concession from the collector at Nogales. He agreed to release the train if the Los Angeles collector of customs wired him that he had received cash to cover the required duty. The cash was duly paid.

Dr. Giannini and I wiped our perspiring brows. "I never want to see another tomato," grinned Doc. "Of course you will probably end in jail for violating federal regulations. Don't you realize you have committed a grave offense? But I'll visit you in prison, bring you cigars and anything else you want — provided they don't throw me in jail also!"

So far as I remember, we never heard from Washington! Probably our appeals were buried on some bureaucrat's desk. By the time he looked at them, the bank holidays were doubtless over. Anyhow, there were no rotten tomatoes south of the border at Nogales.

We had other reasons for remembering those nightmarish bank holidays. Late on Friday afternoon, March 10, 1933, several of the senior officers of the bank were holding a conference in Dr. Giannini's ground floor office at Seventh and Spring streets. I recall that the Doctor, James Normanly, W. E. Benz, Joseph Rosenberg, and I were there. At 5:55 p.m. a deep rumbling started under us and in seconds the thirteen-story Class A steel and concrete building began to sway like a small boat on an angry sea. Stone grinding on stone, girders creaking, huge plate glass windows snapping and crashing to the floor — these sounds seemed to grip our senses for minutes, though the earthquake really went on for less than sixty seconds. Outside we could see men and women running and suddenly falling on pavement and sidewalks, trolley and power wires lashing as if a giant hand were shaking them. Across the street we watched buildings bend away from their neighbors' walls and then come together, throwing out showers of mortar and dust as the walls collided. Over all sounded the distant chorus of the city's multitude, nearer at hand the confused voices of late workers still in the large two storied banking room.

All of us ran out of the small private office, Doc probably the most excited of the group. The huge metal and glass chandeliers were swaying madly. "Keep away from those chandeliers," he shouted to men who were running across the floor, "They'll come down any minute and kill you!"

Some one rushed over and said a janitor had been hurt; he had been mopping a stairway leading to the mezzanine just inside a high window when a long sliver of plate glass cut a vein in his forearm. The surgeon's instinct took over and Doc raced to the victim, tore off the man's shirt and made a tourniquet to staunch the spurting blood. "If one of you boys has your car close by, drive him to the Emergency Hospital," he ordered, "that bandage isn't very good. The doctors there will fix you up. Don't worry," he patted the man's shoulder, "Just keep quiet until they get you to the hospital."

In other ways A. H. Giannini, the banker, always remained a physician. One day a junior officer brought him some papers for his signature. Doc gazed intently at the man's face and laid the file on his desk.

"What's that sore on your cheek?" he demanded.

"Oh, it's nothing, just a pimple, I guess."

"How long has it been there?"

"A week or two, maybe; it will soon go away."

"You think so? Well, I'm going to take a look at it."

He took a magnifying glass from a desk drawer and studied the sore spot carefully.

"Get Dr. Goeckerman," he called out to his secretary. In a moment she had the well known Mayo trained dermatologist on the line.

"Doctor Goeckerman," said Doc, "Can you see one of our bank boys right away . . . Good . . . I'll send him over. He has a persistent open sore on his cheek . . . under my magnifying glass, it looks like carcinoma . . . Fine. I appreciate your taking care of him. Send me the bill . . . Thank you. He'll be there in ten minutes."

Hanging up the telephone, he turned to the dismayed man:

"Bert, go over to Dr. Goeckerman's office right away. My secretary will give you the address. He'll fix that cheek of yours."

"But," stammered the man, "I don't need to go to a doctor. I'm sure it will clear up in a few days."

"Oh, so you've been to medical college and know all about skin cancers?" snapped Doc. "Don't waste time arguing. I'm not asking, I'm telling you to get over there on the double!"

Red-faced and still protesting, the man backed out of the office. Later that day Dr. Giannini told me that the dermatologist had phoned that his diagnosis had indeed proved correct and that the patient had not come to him any too soon. The growth was deep rooted and had been difficult to remove under a local anaesthetic. He had sent the man home with orders to remain quiet for a couple of days and then see him again.

When Bert returned to the bank, his cheek still bandaged, he told me in amazement: "Dr. Giannini maybe saved my life, and I thought he disliked me!" He was one of the employees who was awed by Doc's abrupt manner when he gave orders or answered questions. Some of these men who had observed that I "got along" with the Doctor, developed the habit of asking me to relay to him their requests or reports on anything that seemed likely to irritate or provoke argument. I very quickly adopted the policy of refusing to serve as an intermediary. With Doc's keen perception, there would be no surer way to upset our good relationship. He resented having subordinates fear to approach him. He responded more pleasantly to honest disagreement than to timid or subservient assent.

At least one customer of the bank had reason to remember that A. H. Giannini the banker was also a medico. One of the large real estate loans that the credit officers struggled with during the depression was also secured by a guaranty executed by several supposedly substantial capitalists. The note had fallen into arrears of both interest and principal, also the bank advanced taxes when the borrowers failed to pay them. Naturally recourse was had to the guarantors. Some made partial payments; others stalled. The loan became a chronic worry.

One of the leading guarantors resisted all demands. He was a prominent figure in the city's social life, well known to Dr. Giannini. Investigation of the records revealed that the financial statement this man had filed with the bank listed assets that did not stand in his name and omitted some of his liabilities. The Doctor sent for the evasive guarantor. After exchanging the usual amenities, Doc mentioned the troublesome loan. In his mildest manner he indicated his belief that perhaps his caller did not realize the badly delinquent condition of the loan. Gradually he forced an admission that the caller did know all the essential facts. What did he propose to do about it? Here the gentleman became very vague and elusive, and the Doctor more insistent. At last, losing his patience, he demanded an explanation of the false statement. Was the caller going to force the bank to sue him and then disclose the discreditable truth about the statement?

Now the caller became very much agitated. Such a charge was an aspersion on his character! He had never been so insulted. His voice rose, then quavered. He clutched his side as if in pain.

"I have a bad heart," he gasped, "I can't stand a shock like this; I'm afraid I am going to have an attack!"

"So you have a bad heart?" Doc's tone was ominous. He pulled open a desk drawer and yanked out a stethoscope. "I'll find out just how bad off your heart is!" He thrust the instrument against the chest of his astonished caller.

"There's nothing the matter with your heart," Doc pronounced with deadly irony, "unless it's a little yellow!"

I do not remember how much the bank collected from that guarantor, but I doubt that he ever filed another fraudulent statement, especially if he was doing business with a banker who was also a physician.

One of his proudest medical recollections was of the time when Mrs. A. P. Giannini, then in New York, frantically telephoned him at the Bowery and East River Bank and begged him to rush up to the hotel where her family was staying. Her son Mario, a victim of hemophilia, was suffering from a bad bleeding spell which the hotel doctors were unable to check. Dr. Giannini's all night ministrations finally brought his nephew through the attack.

The doctor was unquestionably the scholar of the family. A. P. on more than one occasion asserted that with pride. Doc had had a longer formal education and he was a great reader. Like A. P., he seemed not to require many hours of sleep. He reversed the process however, usually retiring late, long after his wife and son, and then not rising early. He was a constant theater and movie patron, but after the show, would sit up for hours with a book or magazines. His reading was widespread, medical journals mixed with financial fare and a variety of history, biography and even a little fiction. Here he was indeed different from his brother. Some one asked Doc one day if A. P. had read a certain book that was then much talked of. "A. P.?" laughed Doc, "he never read a book in his life." While an intentional exaggeration, it was basically true. A. P. was too active and restless, too busy planning new moves for the bank to bury himself in a book.

Doc's scholarship formed the background for his ability as a platform speaker. He was often sought for dedications and chamber of commerce banquets. More than once he delivered baccalaureate addresses at Loyola University. On such occasions his remarks were studded with classical allusions and excerpts from a wide range of literature. He was bilingual in English and Italian and could quote familiarly from Latin and French sources. He was not just a flowery speaker but possessed a sensitive ear for the euphonious and pleasing word and phrase. In this role he stood out in sharp contrast to his own fiery outbursts of strong and picturesque profanity. No oath was ever uttered in his platform oratory.

Frequently he coined strikingly original epigrams and metaphors. I recall one when he spoke at a dinner given in his honor by the motion picture fraternity. "You are always at my feet," he shook his finger at his audience, "or at my throat, but never at my side!" Strangely enough, he told us afterwards he made his hearers like it.

Despite his erudition, Dr. Giannini occasionally revealed a quite primitive side. He had a superstitious dread of peacock feathers. He shunned any store or cafe that displayed them or used their motif in its decor. He would not visit a home if he heard the owners kept these birds in their garden. I recall one occasion when a very smartly garbed lady called upon him; unfortunately peacock feathers were part of the design of both her dress and jewelry. The Doctor was ill at ease throughout the interview and could scarcely converse in normal fashion. When she departed, he launched into a dramatic tirade against peacocks, their feathers and any one who tolerated them. In this exciting scene he was decidedly the showman, a role very natural to him.

One must balance the charge of showmanship with other traits where showmanship was not involved. He told me that as a young man he was an inveterate cigarette smoker. One day a woman patient whose throat he was examining showed sudden annoyance. On questioning her she admitted that the nicotine discoloration on his fingers and its strong odor were most distasteful to her. "Right then," Doc said, "I decided that if a habit of mine seemed so filthy to another person I'd cut it out. I never smoked another cigarette. That woman did me a real favor."

One speech that Doc delivered involved a melodramatic incident that a few of us are not likely to forget. He was asked to address a chamber of commerce banquet at a distance from Los Angeles. He left the city a little after noon on the day in question and called at a few Bank of America branches en route. He arrived at one of them after closing hours and rapped for entrance. He had to introduce himself as he and the manager had never met. This branch was experiencing a very heavy volume of business, and the rather youthful manager was hard at work trying to balance his cash. Dr. Giannini immediately asked him if he was coming down to the neighboring town that evening to hear him speak. The young man was weary and perspiring, and blurted out an undiplomatic negative. Doc bluntly answered that he was disappointed to find one of the bank's managers had so little sense of loyalty. The manager's Celtic blood rushed to his face: "Here I'm beating my brains out to balance the damned books and you call me disloyal!" he shouted, "I don't care who you are, you'd better take that back."

This was one of those occasions calling for the "soft answer that turneth away wrath," but Doc's reply was anything but soft. One word led to another and in seconds the manager reached over the counter and struck his caller in the face. A friend who was driving with the Doctor hurried him out of the bank. After he had delivered his speech, the Doctor reported the incident to some one at the bank's Los Angeles headquarters who reached me late that night. I immediately suspended the fiery manager and sent a substitute to relieve him.

The next day Doc returned to Los Angeles. He was still angry but did not demand the man's discharge. "Send him away for a couple of weeks," he suggested "and we can better decide what to do when we have both cooled off." Most of those who knew of the affair were convinced the manager would be discharged. The offender was very sure of this. He was now a very despondent young man, who was certain his banking career had terminated most ingloriously.

In a few days, Dr. Giannini asked to see the man's personal file. He had a small family, was receiving a quite modest salary. In the thirties it might not prove easy to find another job when the record showed he had assaulted his superior officer. On the credit side I pointed out that the man was an industrious, reliable worker, amenable to instructions and regarded, up to now, as having a promising future.

It was here that Doc showed his real stature. He scowled and reshuffled the papers. "Don't misunderstand me. I'm still mad and think the chap deserves to be fired. But that would be punishing his family along with him, and depriving the bank of a good employee — provided he doesn't make a habit of punching customers in the face if they don't agree with him! He looked out of the window before resuming: "I tell you what I'm willing to do. Let him sweat awhile; it will do him good. At the end of his two weeks suspension, tell him to come in and apologize and then go back to work. Is that fair enough?"

I thought the combative manager was exceedingly fortunate and Dr. Giannini very broadminded under the circumstances. He laughed: "More than once *I've* wanted to smash some guy's jaw; sometimes I've done it, too, so tell the so and so to come in and apologize and we'll shake hands."

It is pleasing to close this anecdote by remarking that the short-tempered manager is still a valued officer of the Bank of America with a long record of good service unmarred by any further pugilistic encounters.

Probably due to their Italian blood, all three of the Gianninis enjoyed their moments of recreation intensely. It was as if when the springs of tension and concentration on business were released, the sudden relaxation restored the mood of boyhood. They employed the same energy in the lighter side of life as in their working hours.

Dr. Giannini displayed this joyousness on a memorable week end in 1936. L. M. Giannini succeeded his father as president of the Bank of America on January 14, 1936. The bank gave a testimonial dinner in his honor on Saturday evening, the 25th. The Doctor headed a group of officers from Los Angeles who went to San Francisco on the Southern Pacific's "Lark" the previous night to join in the celebration. In this group were Joseph Rosenberg, Lloyd Sutherland, Ralph Rehorn, Edmund Nelson, James McGuigan, and myself. The gala proceedings started with a banquet at the Bohemian Club and ended at two the next morning at the Club Deauville.

When we Angelenos rose a little before noon on Sunday, Dr. Giannini, by far the liveliest in our party, rented a limousine and directed its driver on a tour of all his old haunts as school boy, medical student, physician, supervisor, and embryo banker. We visited Telegraph Hill, North Beach, Lincoln Park, Lake Merced, the Lakeside Country Club, and Twin Peaks. Doc and I were the only former San Franciscans in the car and, for the others, he delivered such a travelogue as no busload of tourists has ever experienced. Bits of history, anecdotes of men and events — mostly factual but some suspiciously apocryphal — kept us in stitches for hours.

One of the tour's highlights was our stop at Fisherman's Wharf. Doc greeted, joshed and argued in their native tongue with most of the fishermen at their nets, and the vendors of fish and shrimps. One of his favorite delicacies were the small, fresh shrimps which were sold at retail in cornucopias like peanuts. Doc provided each of his guests with a cornucopia, and for those who were not familiar with husking the delicacy, he demonstrated the process with an accompaniment of banter and expostulation in which the shrimp vendors joined. I can still see him buying the round of shrimps. He was never comfortable unless he had a pocketful of money. He did not carry a wallet, but when he made a purchase he would pull out a fistful of bills, and thrust the unspent portion back in a disorderly wad. It is a wonder that he was never robbed.

The driver of the limousine was a young Italian-American. In one of the pauses in Doc's gay monologue, he eyed him intently and finally asked his name. Then he wanted to know his father's name. When he heard that, Doc clapped him heartily on the shoulder: "Boy, I thought I knew you. I was the doctor who attended your mother when you were born! So help me, that's the truth. I gave you the first slap on your backside. From your looks, I'll bet your ma gave you plenty more after that one." As the young man grinned, Doc was off on another round of reminiscences: "Why in those days, fellows, I bet I delivered more than half the babies in North Beach, hundreds, maybe thousands of them." He proceeded to tell our driver the names of his brothers, sisters, cousins, aunts, and uncles like the chorus in "*Pinafore*." He knew more about the man's family than the chap himself. By the end of that drive, they were old friends.

Late in the afternoon, we made our final stop at the Family Club, to which the Doctor belonged. The ground floor rooms seemed deserted. Even the bar was silent as a tomb. I think we rudely awakened the lone bartender by our clamorous entrance.

Doc ordered drinks but seeing a dice box first insisted on a game. "I'm hot as a firecracker," he shouted, "I feel lucky from visiting all my old stamping grounds. I bet you I can throw a pair of sixes in one throw! Each of you put up a dollar; if I don't do it, I'll pay each of you a dollar."

We duly produced our dollar bills, and Doc shook the dice box long and vigorously with loud exhortations. At last he threw the dice on the bar and there before our startled eyes were two sixes! His shouts of exultation made the roof ring. I am sure the Family Club has never been visited by a more boisterous party. No one had yet had a drink but any onlooker would not have believed that. Dr. Giannini beyond doubt was the most delighted man in all San Francisco that Sunday afternoon. "You fellows are just a bunch of pigeons," he cried, picking up the dollar bills. "Why didn't I bet you *five* dollars apiece? I could have paid for our drive."

Doc was as catholic in his choice of friends as in his reading. He was on intimate terms with Will Rogers and other greats of the screen and world of letters, yet his door was always open to odd-ball characters like Foghorn Murphy, who long before had won that sobriquet in San Francisco where he rode a horse down Market Street, clad in a white uniform and clutching a megaphone, through which he hoarsely announced the day's sporting events at the ballpark.

He was always a great raconteur. More than once I have seen him interrupt a serious conference to relate a comical episode. Yet in a few seconds, he himself would silence the laughter and bring the group back to the business in hand. He was fond of recalling the days of his supervisorial service, especially when some old San Francisco friend, like Francis J. Heney, dropped in to pay his respects.

He and Hiram Johnson had been intimate associates. I wish we had had a tape recording of his dramatic story of the 1920 Republican National Convention in

Chicago. The California delegation had fought valiantly to secure Johnson's nomination. When Warren G. Harding was finally chosen as the compromise candidate, the Vice-Presidential nomination was offered to Johnson. According to Doc, Johnson was so bitterly disappointed that he would not consider the second place on the ticket. Doctor told some of us he sat up all night pleading with his friend to accept the offer. "I walked the floor with him for hours telling him, 'I have a hunch, a strong hunch, that Harding, if elected, will not live out his term.' I pointed out that we had had five presidents die in office out of a little more than twenty-five. Those were pretty good odds! I begged him to believe he could perhaps, still make the Presidency — that he was throwing away a mighty good chance. I just couldn't talk him into it. Coolidge was chosen and the rest is history!"

A few months after I was transferred to Los Angeles, I went with A. P. to visit one of the branches. As we drove across the city, he suddenly remarked: "They tell me you're getting along all right with Doc. How about it?"

"Why, yes," I answered, "we get along with each other very well."

"How in hell do you do it?" he exclaimed, "I never can!"

I was speechless and am afraid I gave him no explanation of "how I got along with Doc." There had been rumors of friction between the brothers, but here the fact was out in the open by A. P.'s own blunt admission. Subsequently I observed recurrent instances of differences between them on a variety of subjects. I never learned the underlying cause; perhaps it derived not so much from any definite cause as from a heavily charged atmosphere wherein two strong, highly spirited temperaments clashed headlong with slight provocation.

On one occasion A. P. came into the bank in Los Angeles while Dr. Giannini was out of the city. In talking with James Normanly, he took strong exception to something Doc had done. Normanly, who had come out from New York with Dr. Giannini to join the bank, was naturally a strong partisan of his superior and did his best to defend him. Exasperated, A. P. entreated Normanly to tell him why he and Doc could not get along better. Normanly, an Irish-American, did not lack courage. "I'll tell you why, A. P.," he looked him in the eye. "Yes?" snorted A. P. "What is it?" "Because you're both Gianninis!" That may well be the truest explanation possible.

The friction was seriously aggravated by a few human cuttlefish who riled the waters for their own selfish ends. Officers visiting Los Angeles headquarters from San Francisco naturally carried back reports about activities in the south. Most such reports were factual and well meant but some were colored or slanted so as to cast Dr. Giannini in an unfavorable light. In these cases the basic facts lost nothing in the telling. Taken out of context, they sounded very provocative.

More than once Will Morrish and I discussed this only too evident attempt to stir up discord. Morrish was very much of a peacemaker and missed no opportunity to discourage these incendiary tactics. He knew that I shared his sentiments. Therefore on one of my visits to San Francisco, he informed me of the tale-bearing proclivities of a certain officer who when in Los Angeles continually and loudly proclaimed his great friendship for Dr. Giannini. This man always called him

"Til," a nickname seldom used outside Doc's own household. Morrish urged me to warn the Doctor that everytime this professed friend returned from Los Angeles, new friction flared up because of his "confidential" reports. "Doc thinks this chap is his friend," Morrish told me, "but he had better be very careful, especially of any remark he drops about A. P. or Mario." I did not fancy this assignment; it smacked too much of intrigue, but neither did I like to see Doc's confidence betrayed and the bank's welfare jeopardized by such backstairs politics.

On my return I delivered Morrish's message to Doc. He looked stricken; it was only because he trusted Morrish and me that he listened at all. "Thanks for putting me wise," he finally said, "this talk will be strictly between us. I'll never again tell that so-and-so the time of day!"

On the other hand, whenever A. P. spoke approvingly of something Doc had done or admiringly about a speech he had delivered, I made it a point to relay the compliment to his brother. Sometimes Doc would eye me narrowly: "Did he really say that?" but I could see he was pleased. I followed the same course in informing A. P. and Mario of any instances of Doc's family loyalty. It is just as easy to be the bearer of good news and kindly thoughts as of slander.

Dr. Giannini often referred to the human heart as a "ticker." More than once I heard him say as he clutched his left side: "Some day, boys, this old ticker of mine is just going to stop like that!" snapping his fingers. This light remark came back to me forcibly on February 7, 1943. Doc was a regent of Loyola University. Its board was meeting that day for lunch at the home of one of the members in Fremont Place, Los Angeles. Dr. Giannini, while chatting with some of his fellow regents just before sitting down, suddenly gasped and sank to the floor unconscious. A physician was summoned but by the time he arrived, the Doctor was dead.

A few days after his funeral, a close friend of his father handed his son Bernard, the following sonnet:

To A. H. Giannini
Gay heart, so quick to fire, to flash and jest
In repartee, to leap the common wall
For high adventure, both in cloistered hall
Or where the crowd milled thickest. Keener zest
For living none had shown. To him the quest
Was greater than the goal. Not trusting all,
His faith once pledged was plighted past recall —
Warm core that harmonized his glad unrest.
For him no candles guttering low, nor shame
His memory with cerements of grief.
Somewhere the joyous spark that gave him fame
More bright survives this interruption brief:
Death came for him no harbinger of gloom,
And answering, he smiled and left our room.

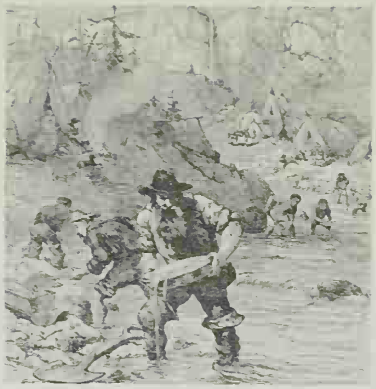
## THE GIANNINI FAMILY

Mrs. Claire Giannini Hoffman is the only one of A. P. Giannini's children now living. She resides in her father's former home in San Mateo, and has an office in the A. P. Giannini Plaza, the Bank of America's magnificent fifty-two story headquarters recently completed at Kearny, Pine and California streets, San Francisco. Mrs. Hoffman inherited her father's mental powers and breadth of vision, and is an honored member of the Bank of America's board as well as a director in other large corporations.

Lawrence Mario Giannini is survived by his widow, Mrs. Mercedes Giannini, and their two daughters, Anne and Virginia. Anne is married to James K. McWilliams. She has no children of her own, but Mr. McWilliams has three by a former marriage. Virginia is married to Philippe G. Hammerness and has two young sons, whose names are Philippe and Lawrence.

Dr. A. H. Giannini's widow, Mrs. Leontine Giannini, died several years after her husband. They had one son, Bernard, born January 2, 1911. After graduating from Loyola University, he became an officer of the Bank of America and eventually manager of one of its Hollywood branches. He married Miss Colleen Sword (born April 23, 1913.) They had five children: Victoria, an adopted daughter, born April 9, 1944, now Mrs. Derek Anderson; Theresa Bernadette, born March 15, 1949; George Bernard, born January 13, 1951; and twin daughters, Grace Mary and Gloria, born April 9, 1954. Their father, Bernard Giannini, displayed much of the brilliance of his father and uncle, but the fine career for which he seemed destined was cut off by his untimely death on December 10, 1954. His widow passed away on October 15, 1966.

Thus it is apparent that their son, George Bernard Giannini, above-mentioned, is the only male Giannini now living of that line descended from Luigi and Virginia Giannini who settled in Santa Clara County, California, a century ago.



*California Historical Society*

# GOLD
# WAS FOR THE YOUNG

The gold miners were all bearded . . . that's true.

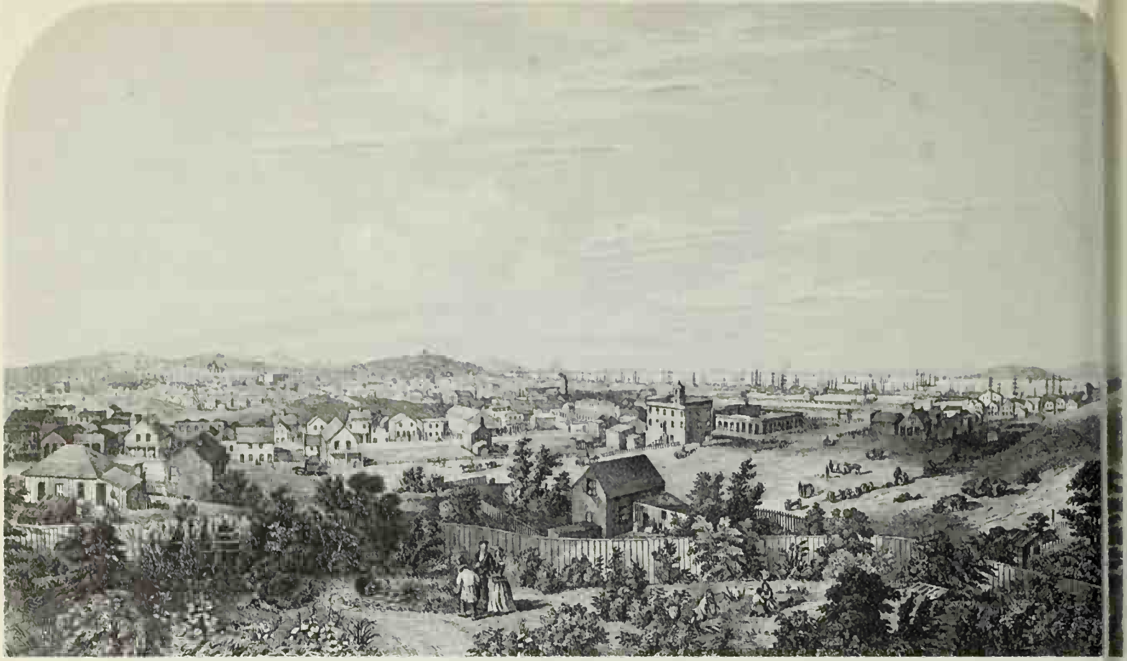
After a few months of work . . . the brutal, man-killing labor involved in gold recovery from icy, mountain streams, any young man would look older. This was hard work . . . this gold seeking. It was rough by any standards . . . even by the kind of day-to-day labor it took to make a living, anywhere, in the United States in 1849.

Gold hunting took young people to dare the risk . . . it required a young spirit. It asked for the young's willingness to learn, to improvise . . . it demanded their creativity . . . their unquenchable faith in a future they could help to build.

We were a very young country in 1849. California was even newer, open and vulnerable to Yankee industry and Eastern culture. Our national future then, was being borne on the shoulders of our young men and women. It was their idealism, their proven courage . . . their limitless energy that fought our battles . . . that drove us forward. They went everywhere . . . into the forest, across great oceans, deep into the lonely prairies and in 1849 they came by the thousands to California for the fabled yellow metal.

They came with their health, their knowledge, their "get-up and go" and they came bearing our trust and our faith . . . in those days. California gold . . . and our future . . . was in the hands of our young . . . our sons and our daughters.

ROBERT A. WEINSTEIN

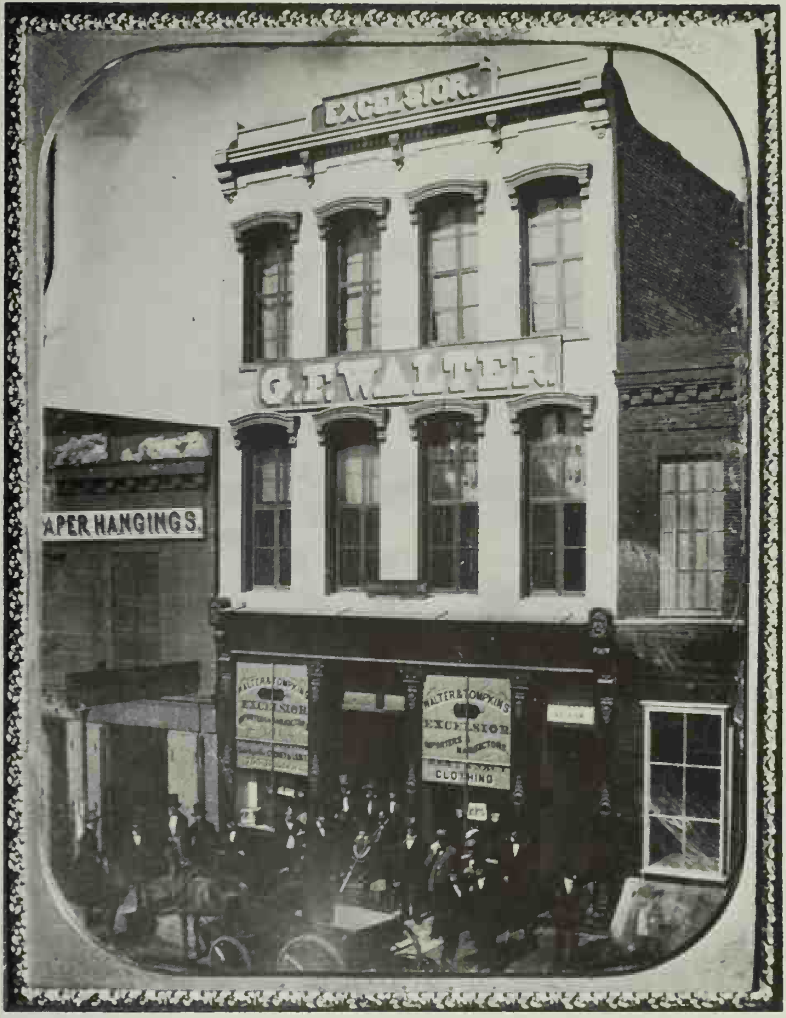


*all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History R n*

View of San Francisco from Rincon Point, 1856 by F. N. Otis

Jasper O'Farrell, earliest San Francisco surveyor

*R. Bruce Duncan, Glenview, Illinois*

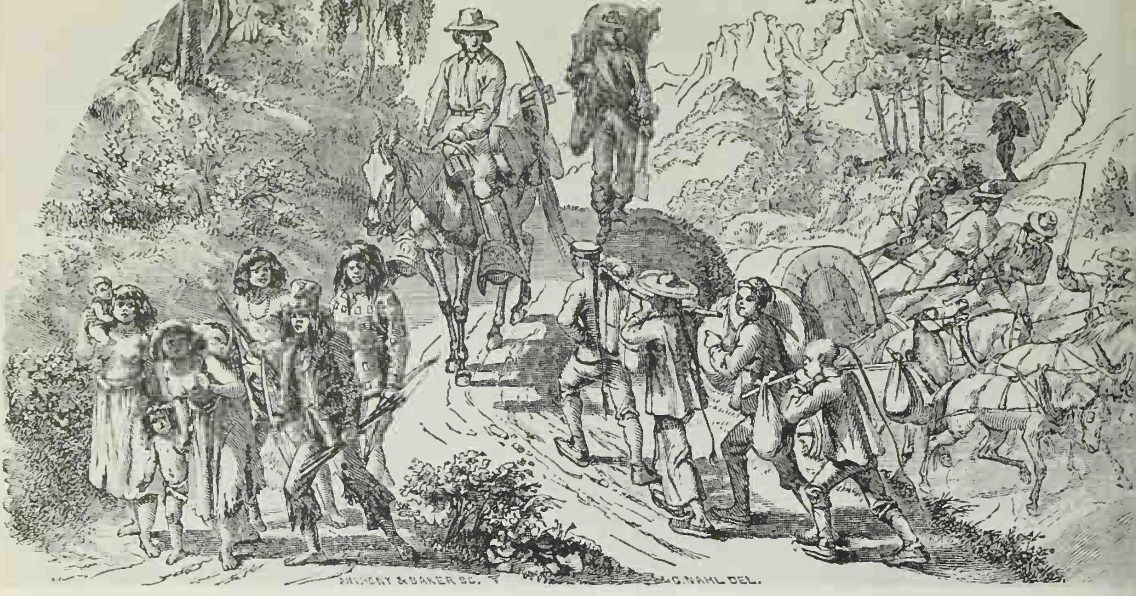


Montgomery Street, San Francisco, 1856 by Robert H. Vance

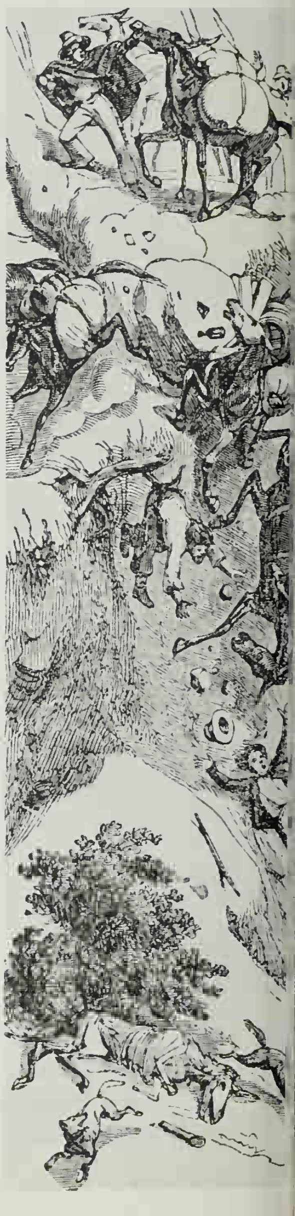
Jasper O'Farrell, a young Irishman came to the little Spanish village called Yerba Buena. The discovery of gold north and east in the Sierra foothills would transform it into an astonishing harbor city, San Francisco.

O'Farrell never found gold there . . . he discovered immortality instead. In meager payment for surveying the forming city in 1847, a major thoroughfare was in time named O'Farrell Street and the young bearded Jasper passed on into timeless fame.

The young town grew becoming an infant city. It sported a great . . . a magnificent natural harbor, breathtaking hill views and as fast as it could import and build them . . . stylish business offices of the day.


ANTHONY & BAKER SC.
C. NAHL DEL.

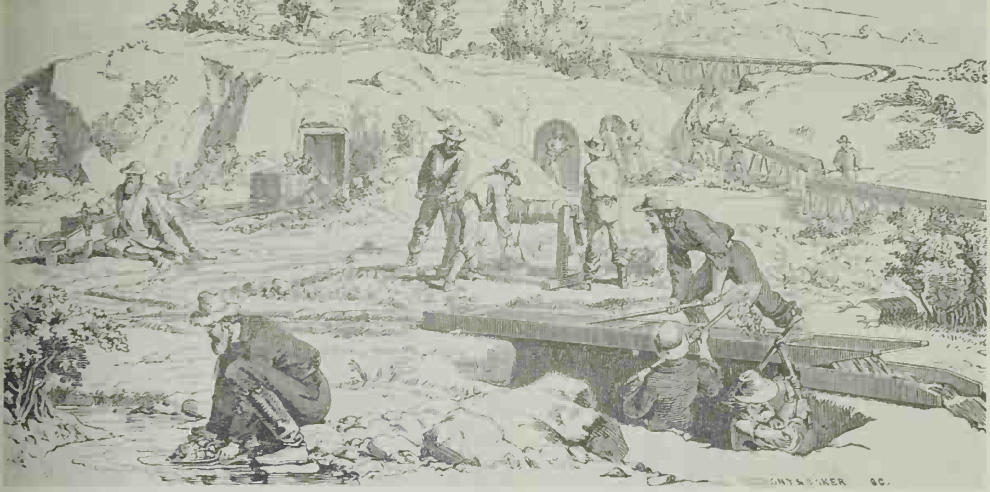
. . . the way was rough and the confusion indescribable . . .



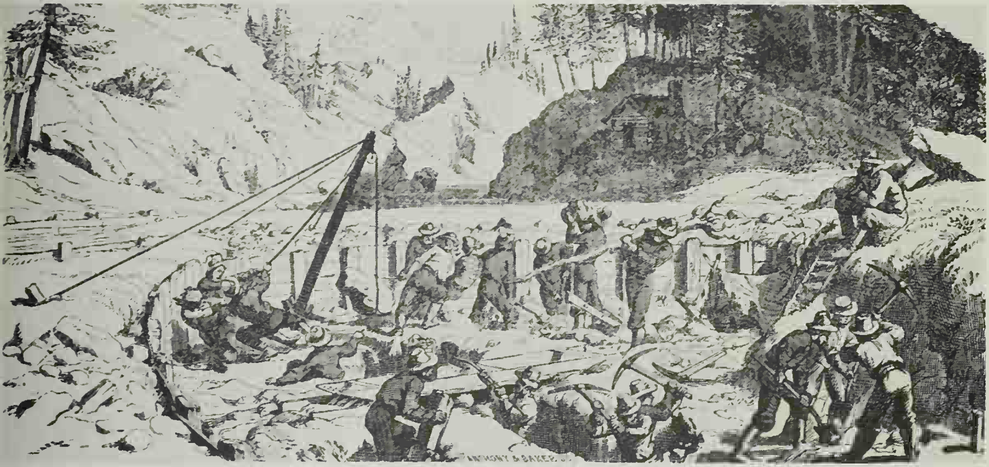
San Francisco . . . thriving young metropolis was not the target of the gold-seekers . . . it was only the doorway. Their target was the Mother Lode. The Eldorado . . . the mines, the diggings . . . the gold-rich Sierra foothills. Everything and almost everybody went there . . . at least once.

. . . accidents sometimes happened . . .

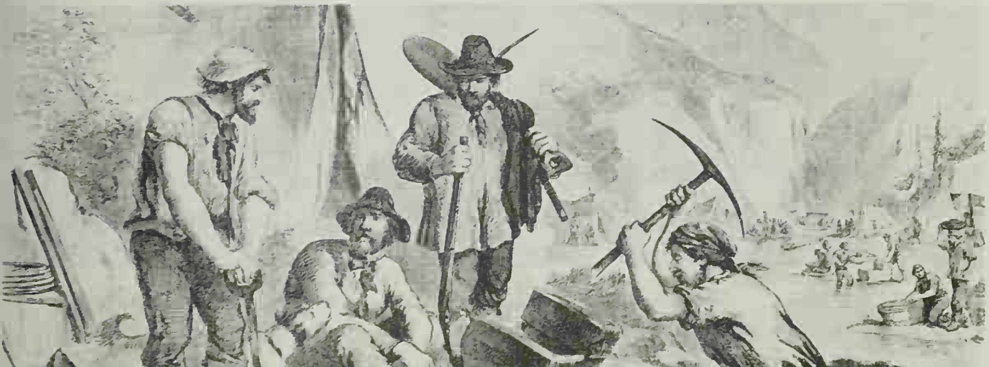
*all photos courtesy California Historical Society*



the methods of gold mining varied . . .

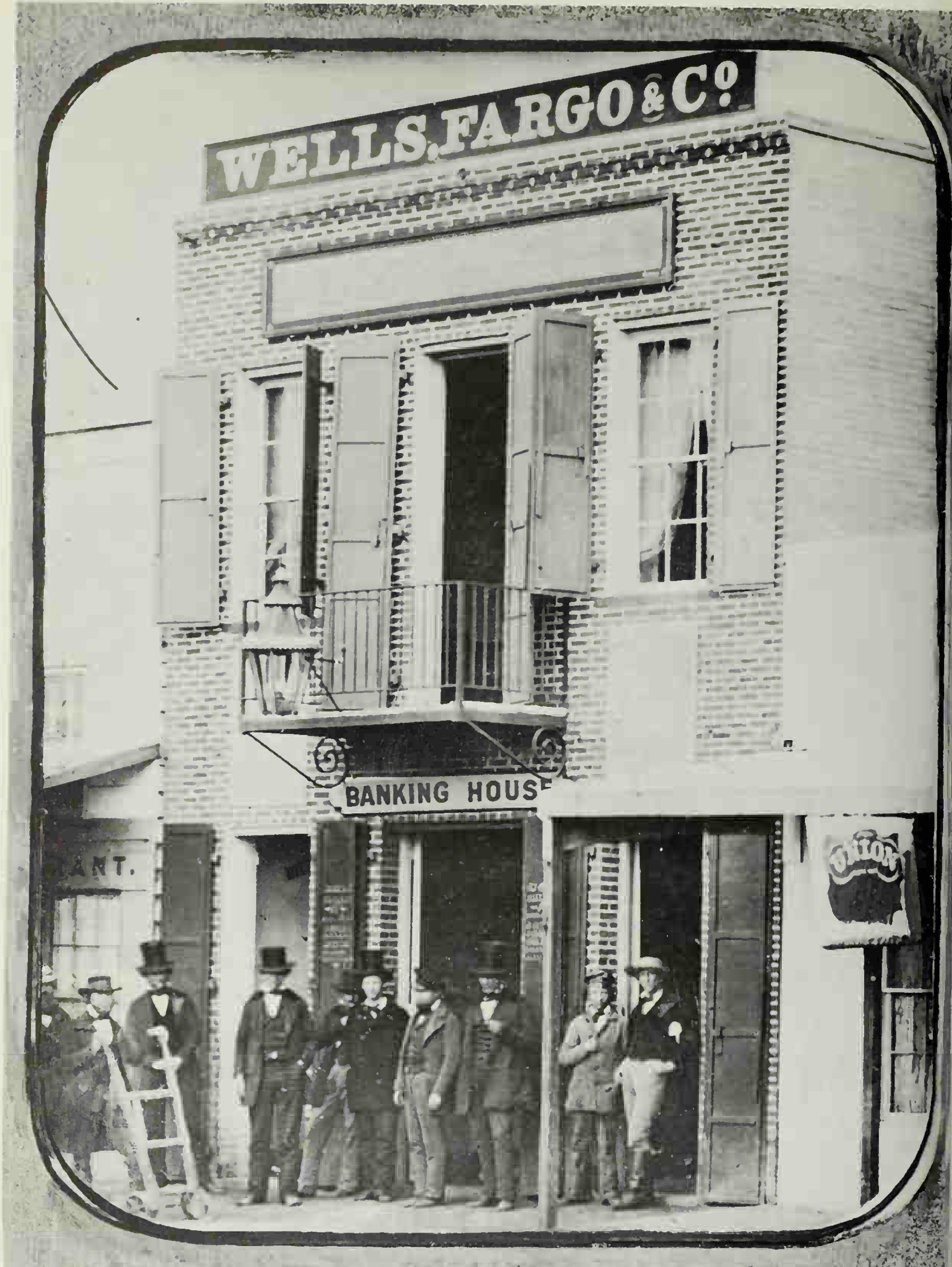

ANTHONY & BAKER

. . . even riverbeds ultimately were drained and searched for their pay dirt . . .

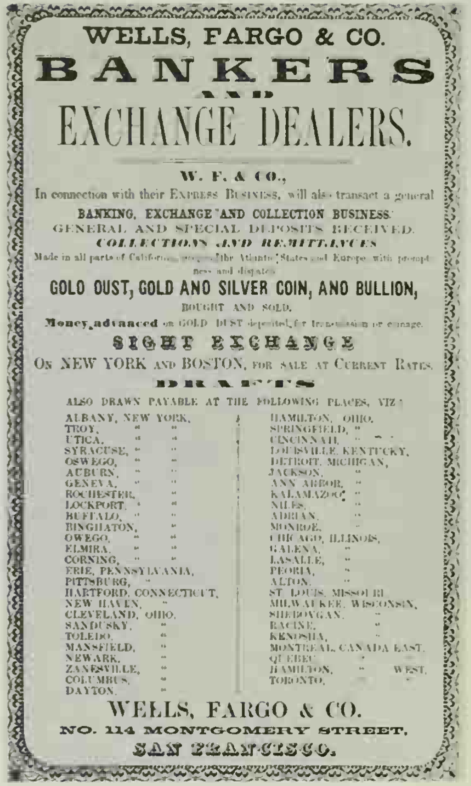


. . . but in the end it was always back-breaking labor . . . seemingly without end . . .

*all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Ro*


WELLS, FARGO & Co
BANKING HOUS
ANT.
UNION

Wells Fargo & Co. first location, 114 Montgomery Street between Sacramento and California Streets, opened July 13, 1852



WELLS, FARGO & CO.

BANKERS

AND

EXCHANGE DEALERS.

W. F. & CO.,

In connection with their EXPRESS BUSINESS, will also transact a general

BANKING, EXCHANGE AND COLLECTION BUSINESS.

GENERAL AND SPECIAL DEPOSITS RECEIVED.

*COLLECTIONS AND REMITTANCES*

Made in all parts of California, [illegible] the Atlantic States and Europe, with promptness and dispatch.

GOLD DUST, GOLD AND SILVER COIN, AND BULLION,

BOUGHT AND SOLD.

**Money advanced** on GOLD DUST deposited for transmission or coinage.

SIGHT EXCHANGE

ON NEW YORK AND BOSTON, FOR SALE AT CURRENT RATES.

DRAFTS

ALSO DRAWN PAYABLE AT THE FOLLOWING PLACES, VIZ:

ALBANY, NEW YORK,
TROY, " "
UTICA, " "
SYRACUSE, " "
OSWEGO, " "
AUBURN, " "
GENEVA, " "
ROCHESTER, "
LOCKPORT, " "
BUFFALO, " "
BINGHATON, "
OWEGO, " "
ELMIRA, " "
CORNING, " "
ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA,
PITTSBURG, "
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT,
NEW HAVEN, "
CLEVELAND, OHIO,
SANDUSKY, "
TOLEDO, "
MANSFIELD, "
NEWARK, "
ZANESVILLE, "
COLUMBUS, "
DAYTON, "

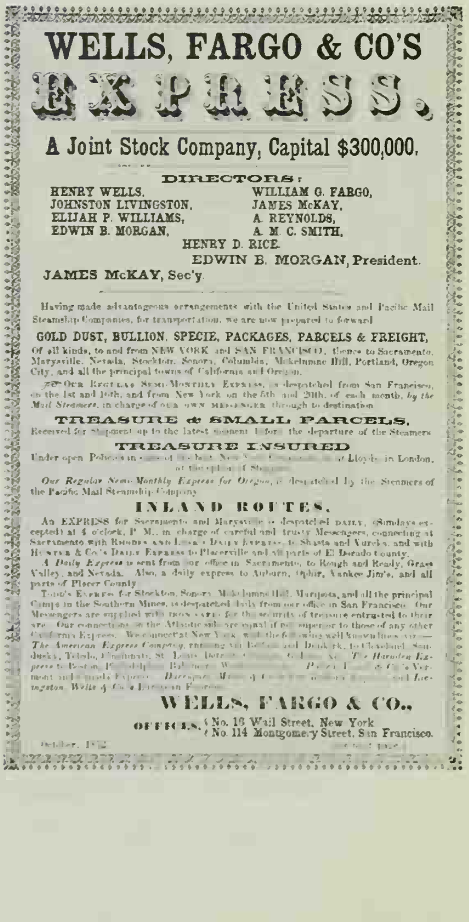
HAMILTON, OHIO,
SPRINGFIELD, "
CINCINNATI, "
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY,
DETROIT, MICHIGAN,
JACKSON, "
ANN ARBOR, "
KALAMAZOO, "
NILES, "
ADRIAN, "
MONROE, "
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,
GALENA, "
LASALLE, "
PEORIA, "
ALTON, "
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN,
SHEBOYGAN, "
RACINE, "
KENOSHA, "
MONTREAL, CANADA EAST,
QUEBEC, "
HAMILTON, " WEST,
TORONTO, "

WELLS, FARGO & CO.

NO. 114 MONTGOMERY STREET,

SAN FRANCISCO.

Gold whether in nuggets or as gold dust in a leather sack meant money. Banks were a fundamental necessity, as were express companies to collect, store and ship the precious metals. Agents, stages, stage stations, driver . . . all these were needed. But first . . . banks were needed in San Francisco. On behalf of a Vermonter, Henry Wells, Wm. G. Fargo and their seven associates, two Eastern young gentlemen arrived in San Francisco in mid-1852. Representing the newly-organized Wells Fargo & Co. Mr. Samuel P. Carter opened the express business on July 1, to be followed by Mr. Rueben W. Washburn who opened for banking on July 10.



WELLS, FARGO & CO'S

EXPRESS.

A Joint Stock Company, Capital $300,000.

DIRECTORS:

HENRY WELLS,
JOHNSTON LIVINGSTON,
ELIJAH P. WILLIAMS,
EDWIN B. MORGAN,

WILLIAM G. FARGO,
JAMES McKAY,
A. REYNOLDS,
A. M. C. SMITH,

HENRY D. RICE.

EDWIN B. MORGAN, President.

JAMES McKAY, Sec'y.

Having made advantageous arrangements with the United States and Pacific Mail Steamship Companies, for transportation, we are now prepared to forward

GOLD DUST, BULLION, SPECIE, PACKAGES, PARCELS & FREIGHT,

Of all kinds, to and from NEW YORK and SAN FRANCISCO, thence to Sacramento, Marysville, Nevada, Stockton, Sonora, Columbia, Mokelumne Hill, Portland, Oregon City, and all the principal towns of California and Oregon.

☞ OUR REGULAR SEMI-MONTHLY EXPRESS, is despatched from San Francisco, on the 1st and 16th, and from New York on the 5th and 20th, of each month, *by the Mail Steamers*, in charge of OUR OWN MESSENGER through to destination.

TREASURE & SMALL PARCELS,

Received for shipment up to the latest moment before the departure of the Steamers.

TREASURE INSURED

Under open Policies in [illegible] Lloyds in London, at the option of Shippers.

*Our Regular Semi-Monthly Express for Oregon*, is despatched by the Steamers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.

INLAND ROUTES.

An EXPRESS for Sacramento and Marysville is despatched DAILY, (Sundays excepted) at 4 o'clock, P. M., in charge of careful and trusty Messengers, connecting at Sacramento with RHODES AND LUSK'S DAILY EXPRESS to Shasta and Yreka, and with HUNTER & CO'S DAILY EXPRESS to Placerville and all parts of El Dorado County.

A *Daily Express* is sent from our office in Sacramento, to Rough and Ready, Grass Valley, and Nevada. Also, a daily express to Auburn, Ophir, Yankee Jim's, and all parts of Placer County.

TODD'S EXPRESS for Stockton, Sonora, Mokelumne Hill, Mariposa, and all the principal Camps in the Southern Mines, is despatched daily from our office in San Francisco. Our Messengers are supplied with IRON SAFES for the security of treasure entrusted to their care. Our connections on the Atlantic side are equal if not superior to those of any other California Express. We connect at New York with the following well known lines, viz:— *The American Express Company*, running via Buffalo and Dunkirk, to Cleveland, Sandusky, Toledo, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Detroit, [illegible] *The Harnden Express* to Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, W[illegible] *P*[illegible] Co's Vermont and Canada Express. *Harnden*[illegible] *Lexington*. *Wells & Co's European Express*.

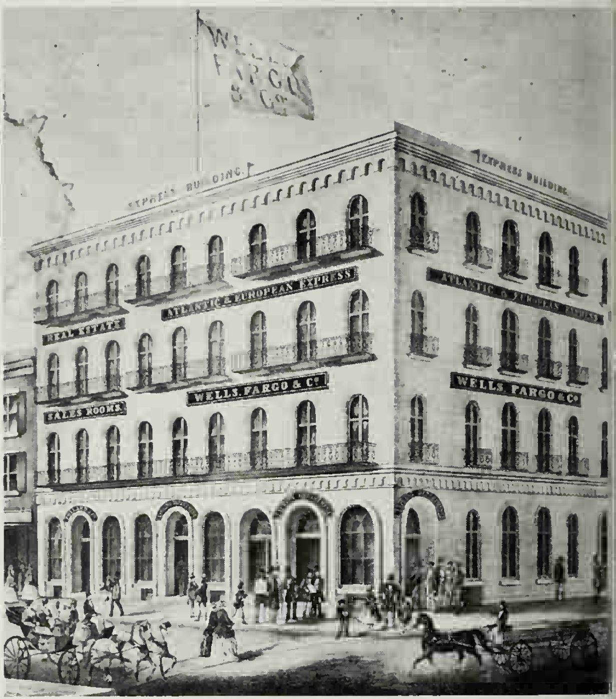
WELLS, FARGO & CO.,

OFFICES, { No. 16 Wall Street, New York
{ No. 114 Montgomery Street, San Francisco.

October, 1852.

Both advertisements are from
Parker's, SAN FRANCISCO DIRECTORY, 1852

Parrott Building at the northwest corne of
California and Montgomery Streets


WELLS FARGO & CO.
EXPRESS BUILDING
EXPRESS BUILDING
ATLANTIC & EUROPEAN EXPRESS
REAL ESTATE
WELLS, FARGO & CO.
SALES ROOMS
ATLANTIC & EUROPEAN EXPRESS
WELLS, FARGO & CO.

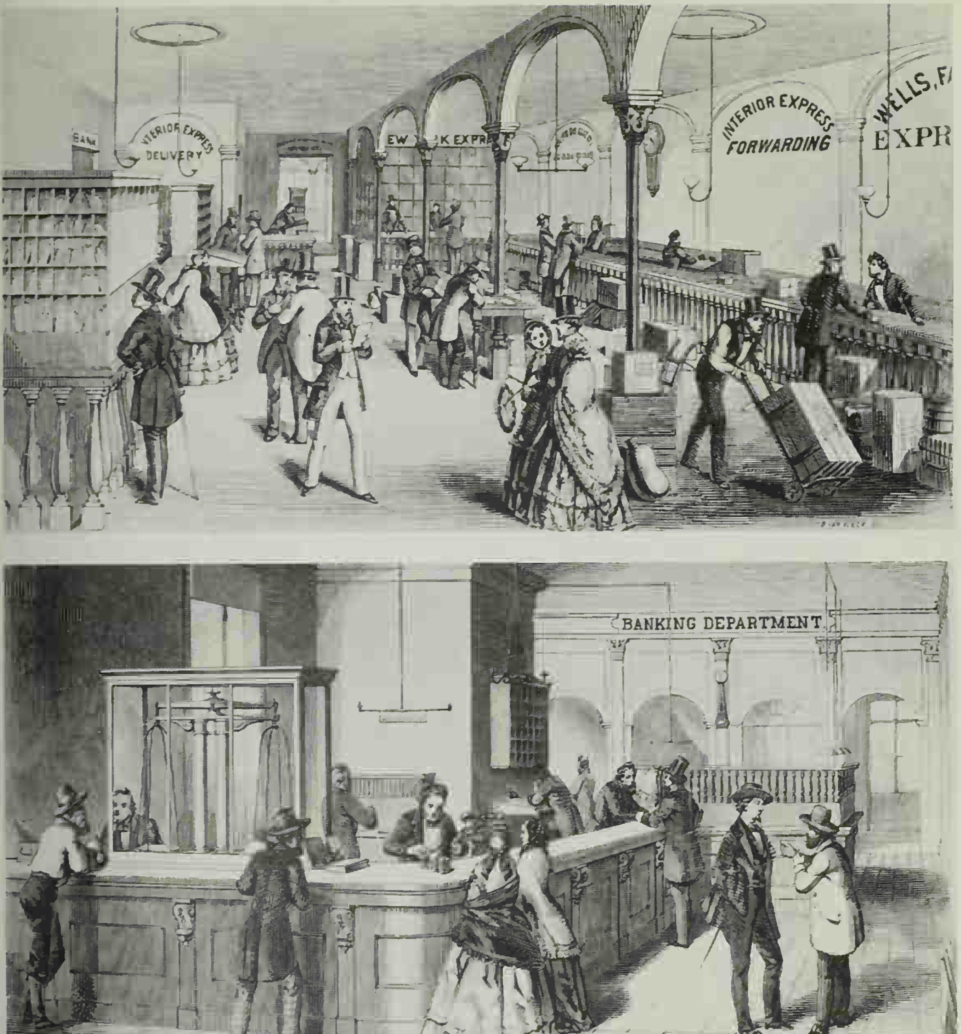
Express Building at the northeast corner of California a
Montgomery Streets

The founding Wells Fargo & Co. faced formidable opposition in both fields, express and banking. Page, Bacon & Co. dominated the banking scene in San Francisco and the latter had a strong headstart in expressing. Within three years Wells Fargo & Co., built slowly, determinedly and solidly was a successful operation of substance.

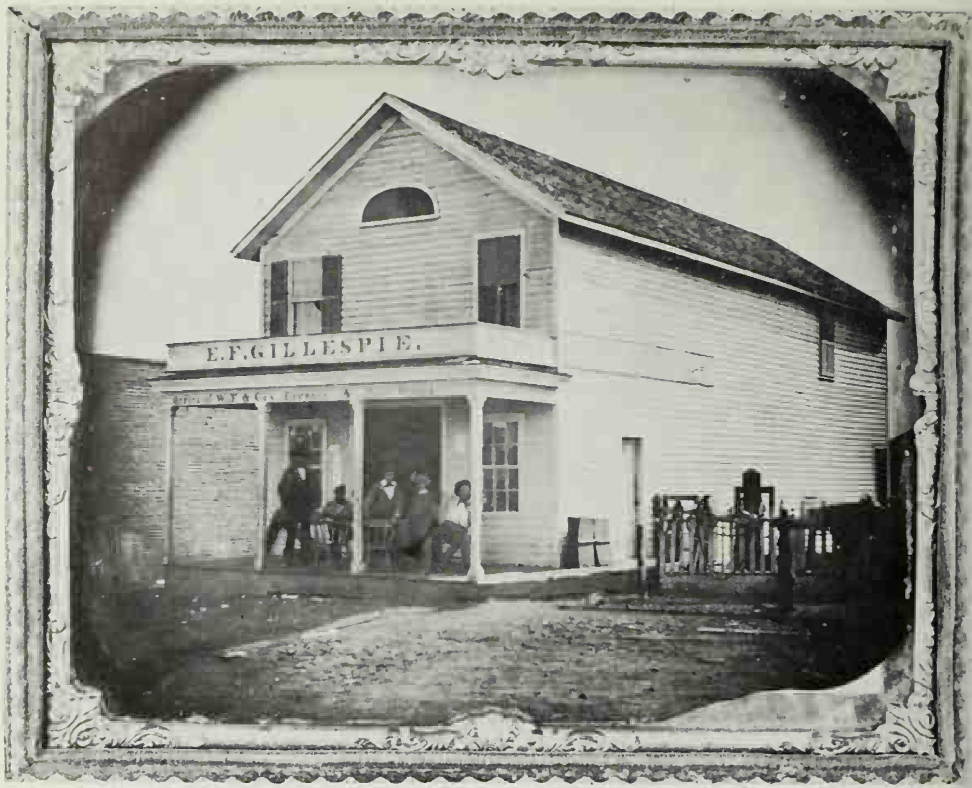
Struck down by the hard times of 1855 Adams & Co. and Page, Bacon folded their doors. Wells Fargo remained as the leading express and banking business in San Francisco and throughout the Mother Lode area.

Moving from their inadequate quarters in Montgomery Street and housed in increasing banking magnificence the Wells Fargo headquarters became showplaces of the times, offering opportunities to the public for a wide range of banking, express and other services.

*all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Room*


BANK
INTERIOR EXPRESS DELIVERY
EW K EXPR
INTERIOR EXPRESS FORWARDING
WELLS, F
EXPR
BANKING DEPARTMENT

Original wood-engravings by Durbin Van Vleck on display in the Wells Fargo Bank History Room



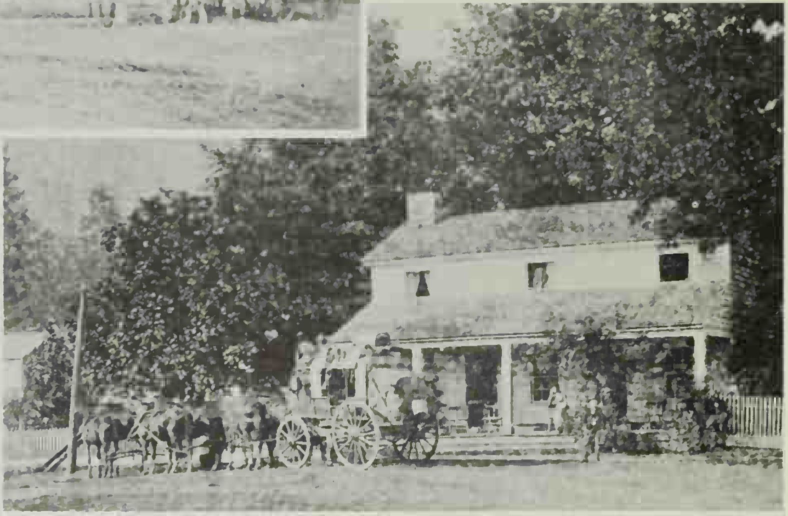
A Gold Rush Wells Fargo office at Vacaville, California

The backbone of their express business were the many mining camps . . . great and small. Providing contact, supplies and conveyance for precious gold and more than all of these, long-awaited letters from home and the chance to respond, the gold camp Wells Fargo express office was often a minor "Town Hall."

Spread from Phoenix, Arizona to Portland, Oregon the offices and the stage stops embraced every type of architecture, and every type of natural setting. They survived floods, fires, and frequent attempts at robbery. The security of the fledgling mining camps was frequently centered in the Wells Fargo office strongboxes . . . tribute to a mutually established trust.

*all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Room*

Santa Rosa, California

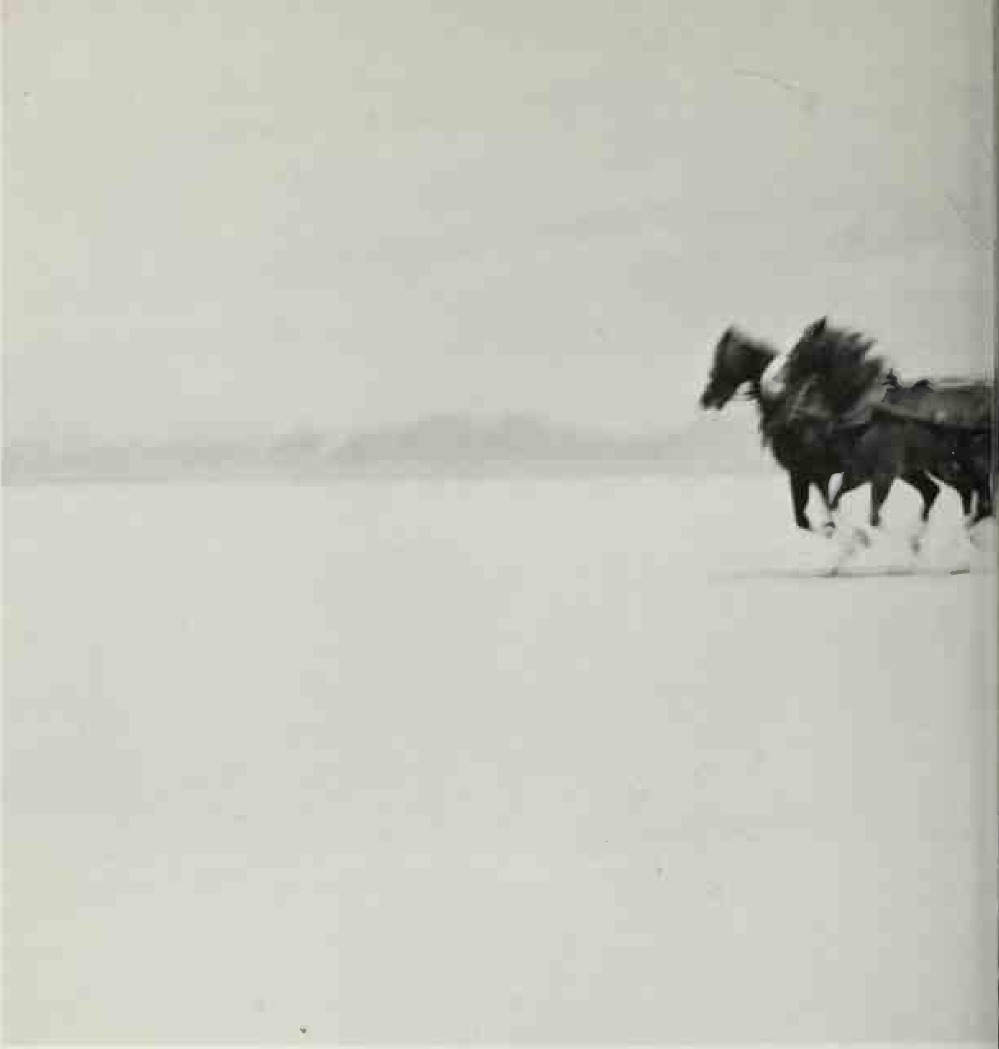


row's Station, Ashland, Oregon

Portland, Oregon

GO & CO'S
ESS.
NEWS
DEPOT.
POST OFFICE

Loring's Bazaar, Phoenix, Arizona



But the all-important link . . . sweat-stained, dusty,
overloaded and creaking was the stage . . . the justly-celebrated
Wells Fargo stage. The Concord coach had moved Westward.

Straining over mountain grades . . . streaking
across sun-baked alkali flats . . . the stage . . . the
six horse team . . . the remarkable drivers the
"shotgun" messengers, proven guardians of
wealth in transit . . . all of these combined, spelled
dependability . . . confidence . . . and trust. Wells
Fargo quickly became a dependable-name for stagecoaching express.

*all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Room*

Unidentified Driver

James Miller

James E. Johnston

But without men . . . young men, independent, courageous and able, Wells Fargo & Co. was merely a resolve, a good intention, a high hope.

First there were the stagecoach drivers . . . the legendary "Whips." Young men of every size, shape and personality they all drove . . . to a man . . . with skill, a bone-breaking ferocity that was intimidating and a devotion to schedule that forever established Wells Fargo's preeminence among their customers.

Till the completion of the transcontinental railroad ended their princely reign, the Concord stage driver of the Wells Fargo Coach . . . mustached, bearded and whip in hand . . . walked among his Western peers as did few men.

. . . and finally . . . the brains, the energy, and the integrity that symbolized Wells Fargo to their many customers . . . the ever-young Wells Fargo agents . . . and express messengers.

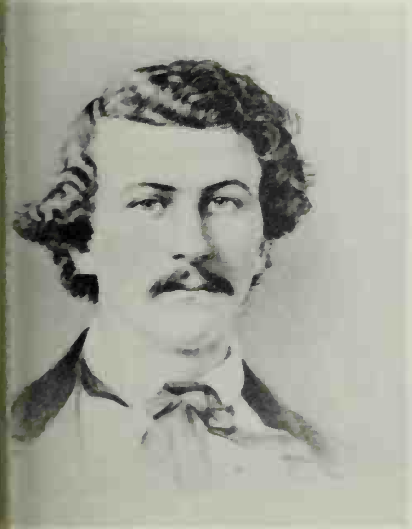
Young in years and experience . . .eager for trust and responsibility these youthful tyros managed Wells Fargo's affairs with impeccable integrity and wisdom.

Listen to twenty-one year old John Q. Jackson, Wells Fargo Agent at Auburn, Calif. . . . four years away from his Virginia home, writing to his father . . . "My position throws me in contact with the heaviest business men of the state—Bankers, Lawyers, Judges, Merchants and all do business through us . . . the business I am engaged in requires my whole attention and is far beyond my years—I might have stayed in Virginia . . . and never had $1000 entrusted to me or been worth anything myself . . . while here I have charge of a large Express Office and Banking house."

*all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Room*

George E. Loring,
Agent at Phoenix, Arizona

J. Q. Jackson, Agent at Auburn, Calif.



Chas. Theodore Hart Palmer, Agent at Ophir with Agent Jackson

Buck and Jennie Miller Montgomery

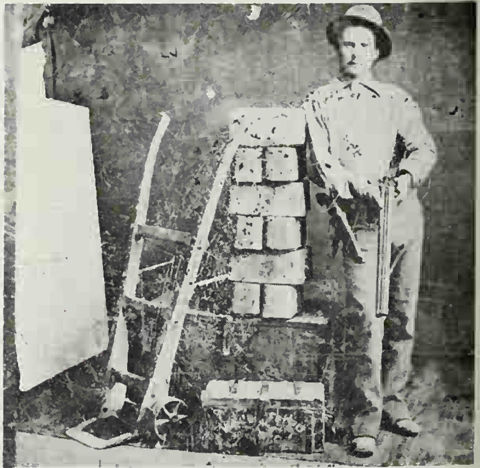
John Taylor Bowers

*. . . the faces of the feared . . . the express messengers*

all young . . . all fearless . . . all determined . . . all men of integrity and worth. It was upon the devotion and courage of these men . . . the drivers an agents as well, that the Wells Fargo reputation of undiminished confidence was built and has endured.

*all photos courtesy Wells Fargo Bank History Room*

Samuel Knight, San Francisco Agent



Madison F. Larkin,
Loring's partner at Phoenix, Arizona

# J. M. Alexander
# A Gold Miner's Letter, 1852

*Edited by* L. PAUL HYATT

THE FOLLOWING LETTER was written by J. M. Alexander to his sister in Marshall County in North Alabama. It has been preserved as a family keepsake by several generations of his relatives, including the editor who is a distant cousin of Alexander. The letter is now held by the editor.

The letter consists of forty-eight pages of long-hand writing with staff pen and ink. It is still very legible after 118 years of not very careful handling. The letter was written in a three-by-five-inch "Pocket Letter Book" provided by Gregory's California Express Co., Joseph W. Gregory owner and Thompson and Hitchcock Managers and Agents, 149 Pearl Street, Corner Wall Street, New York, N. Y. The inside and outside of the book covers have detailed advertising material concerning the company's messenger and mail service from New York to San Francisco. An 1851 calendar is printed on the inside of the back cover. The envelope in which the letter-book was probably mailed has been lost.

Yankee Jims Dig [g] ings[1]
Nassu County[2] California
February 1st 1852

My Dear Sister,

I take my seat this morning to write you a few lines for the first time since I have been in this country. You know I long talked of going to California. Well I am now there strange to tell but it is so. I have been here something over 2 weeks. I stood the trip verry [*sic*] well. My health was good all the time except I was sea sick a few days and I almost perished too [*sic*] death. There was [*sic*] seven or eight days that I did not eat one pound, but when I landed and got something to eat I soon recovered my strength. I first landed at the City of San Francisco from there up Sacramento River to the City of Sacramento. Then I had 70 miles to walk up into the mines where I now am. I had a Brother in law [*sic*] who had

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DR. L. PAUL HYATT is a professor of history at Austin Peay State University, Clarksville, Tennessee.

been here over a year he and his brother. They are old miners and they have made lots of gold since they have been here. They have made some ten thousand dollars. I am with them and have been since I have been here.

We have got a comfortable little cabin and everything conveniant [*sic*] and you may depend we live well though we have to cook [for] ourselves. I am a splendid cook and that is not all. I am a good hand to wash [clothes]. I am the heartyest [*sic*] I ever was in my life. My health is very good. I am able to do lots of hard work and we have plenty to do. And I think the prospects tolerable [*sic*] good to make money.

I will tell you what I did the first day that I worked. I made one ounce and three pennyweights of gold which is worth here $18.50 but that mine does not pay like some of them.[3] Some places here they make it by the pound.[4]

Well I will now tell you how I have made my arrangements. This mine which I first went to work at my brother in law gave to me. Well they were in a good mineing [*sic*] in dry hill diging [*sic*] and they wanted me with them. So I bought a share in with them. I sold out my first at $550.00 and bought with them at $1800. That may look like a large price to you but I will tell you how it is. There is ground enough to work at five years and then it may sell for more than it cost and it will pay from 5 to 12 dollars to the pan full of dirt. So I think when we get it farely [*sic*] open we will make a pile of it.

We sorter [*sic*] calculate that we will get off this summer though I would not say positively. For here is the fact, it is a long ways and a person when here should stay and make something worthwhile. Here is the nature of the case. It will not do for every person to start to California. My advise [*sic*] to all my friends is to stay at home and try to make a living. Not that I am sorry that I am here but that I have been remarkably fortunate so far. There are a great many here doing no good from the fact that they get out of heart and give up for a person can make money here if they will work. A person can hire for five dollars per day but let them consider the expence [*sic*] in the time of it. I will tell you the price of eatables. Flour is worth 14 cents per pound beef 20 cents per pound coffee 50 cents per pound butter from 75 cts. to $1.00 per pound. We get no corn bread[5] here but the best flour I ever saw. Irish potato is 20 cts. per pound, cabage [*sic*] 20 cts per pound, onions 80 cts per pound. They make the best cabage and onions here I ever saw. A good milk cow is worth 150 dollars, chickens is [*sic*] worth 5 to 6 dollars, eggs are worth 6 dollars per dozen. This looks alarming but a person can pay these prices esyer [*sic*] than the prices of things there.

People live well here you may depend. You must not think because we are in California that we are perishing. I never lived better in my life no [*sic*] place than I have since I have been here. This country is verry [*sic*] healthy [*sic*] . I think people here generally look well. The water here is as good as I ever saw in the mountains and it is verry cold. We have the most pretty weather here I ever saw. It raines [*sic*] here but verry little. I suppose [it] never raines here in the summer season. Tod[ay] is a beautiful Sabbath day. It would be fine to go to church but that we are deprived of here. No person to see but dusty miners and they pay little regard to the Sabbath. Some regard the Sabbath here as much as any place. The me[n] whome [*sic*] I am with are strict professors [of faith in God and religion] and very cleaver [*sic*] men and seam [*sic*] about as much concerned for my welfare as they would for there [*sic*] own. When they leave here I calculate to leave also, that is calculations to all go home togeather [*sic*].

You may all think strange of me being here so long before I wrote but my chance is verry [*sic*] bad here to write and the mail only leaves here every two weeks. So I thought when I did write I would give a full sketch of the California trip. When I commenced this book I thought I could fill it up easy [*sic*] but I begin to think the case a hard one. This is the first book I ever wrote a letter in and I begin to think it will be the last for I have told every thing that I can think of at this time. For gold runs on my mind more curant [*sic*] than any thing else. For since I commenced this letter the news came to my ear that there is a man wasing [*sic*] until dinner [noon] and made 500 dollars. He will make a thousand dollars today. This is certain and what makes it better it is joining our claim. This mine is in a hill. We dig verry [*sic*] deep. Some of our mine will be 60 feet deep though it is not like the mines in that country[6] for the dirt will pay from top to bottom. I commenced this letter early this morning but I had to stop to help get dinner [noon meal]. It is now in the evning [*sic*] and me siting [*sic*] out by the side of our cabinin [*sic*] writing on the bottom of a gold pan. We live not moore [*sic*] than 200 yds from town a small vilage [*sic*] called Yankee Jims. Some of these hills about here are verry rich with gold. Close where we are they made a pound to the pan full of dirt. Don't let this raise the excitement for I am not certain that I shall make much though I think the prospect verry good. If I can make two or three thousand dollars I shall start home. The work is verry hard. I have worked till I am verry soar [*sic*] today but my health is verry good.

It is just two months today since I left my wife.[7] I have not heard a word from there since I left.

I have got some verry [*sic*] pretty pieces of gold but can not send you a piece of much sise [*sic*] in a letter though I will send you a small pice [*sic*]. I have got a piece worth six dollars and eighty cents. It is too large to send in a letter. I see some pieces here worth 20 or 30 dollars.

Let this letter suffise [*sic*] for all. It is too tedious for me to write to you all seperately [*sic*]. Therefore let this suffis [*sic*] for Grandmother, Grandfather and Mother and Jennetta, Lisabeth and all. Tell them to not think that I have forgotten them because I do not write to them separately. Remember me to all who may desire my love. Tell them that I am in a land of gold and hope that God may preserve until I get back whare [*sic*] I can enjoy there [*sic*] company. I have always been unfortunate but I think with God's blessing I will make a rise. That is my reason for being in California today. I could see no chance of making a rise any other way or you know I would not have left a kind and affectionate [wife] and come this far beside all other good friends. And I think in one year here I can make enough to clear me of debt and give me a pretty good start in the world. Then I will be a happy man. For I have got an agreeable [*sic*] good wife.

I know it takes a letter a long time to go from here to you but I will keep them on the way so you may hear from me occasionally. I want you to write as soon as you get this letter. Direct your letter to Louisvill [e] Post Office, Eldorado, C. O. [county] California.[8]

I have nothing more to write unless I was to describe the country to you. I recon [*sic*] I must fill up the book with something. Some parts of this country is [*sic*] the prettiest countries [*sic*] I ever saw though up where we are it is verry [*sic*] mountainous. Some of the largest mountains that I ever saw any whare [*sic*]. The growth is mostly pine. Some of them are immencely [*sic*] large say ten feet through. Some deer are here and once and [*sic*] a while a Grisly [*sic*] bear will come along. There are a great many persons in this country now. Little towns are growing up every whare [*sic*]. It will be the greatest countries [*sic*] in the world in time. They can raise almost anything here excep [*sic*] corn. It is too dry in the summer for corn. All kinds of small grain grows here finely. They make the finest barley I ever saw. That answers in place of corn. I hope I will get so that I can tell all about it.

If Sam Bell talks of coming or anybody else of my friends, tell them I saw several men thrown over board into the sea dead though a great many come through clear. When you write let me know whare [*sic*] Sam is and how every body is coming on. Tell Jennetta I will send her a piece of gold next letter I send. I wish you all to give yourselves no uneasiness about me for I will do the best I can. If I can make money enoug [*sic*] I will buy land some place not far from you when I get back and live there as long as I do live.

So I must draw to a close for the present. The day is also drawing to a close. So farewell to you all.

J. M. ALEXANDER

## NOTES

1. Yankee Jim's Diggings, and the village known as Yankee Jims, is located in Placer County. It is about eight miles southeast of U. S. Highway 40 and near Foresthill, California. *Rand McNally Atlas, United States, Canada and Mexico* (New York: Rand McNally and Co., 1957), p. 100.

Sutter County, which also included the area that became Placer County, was incorporated February 18, 1850; Placer County became incorporated as a separate county April 25, 1851. Letter from L. Rechenmacher, County Court Clerk, Placer County to L. Paul Hyatt, December 19, 1962.

The story is that "Yankee Jim's Diggings" was named under the following circumstances: Yankee Jim was not a Yankee but was a transplanted Australian and former prisoner who assumed the "Yankee" part of his name to cover his identity. He was an unsuccessful dry diggings gold miner but departed the area suddenly when accused of horse stealing. Later much good, rich mining territory was discovered on the very land where stood Yankee Jim's hidden horse corral. Joseph Henry Jackson, *Anybody's Gold* (New York: D. Appleton Century Co. Inc., 1941), p. 206.

By the late 1850's Yankee Jim's was of considerable importance as a California mining town. Governor Weller and Lieutenant Governor Walkup opened their political campaigns there in June 1857. A. P. K. Safford was a successful Yankee Jims miner and was elected to the Assembly of California for two terms. Bayard Taylor, Starr King, and other noted public speakers spoke there. Several lawyers who became prominent in Auburn, the county seat of Placer County, among them Judge Hale and C. J. Hillyer, got their start in Yankee Jims. By 1858 the town had a Methodist Church, a school house, and a hotel. Theater troupes performed in the hotel dining room. A town hall was constructed on the second floor of a store. Many stores and saloons flourished. By 1924 only a few people remained at Yankee Jims. By that time it had only twenty registered voters. W. B. Lardner and M. J. Brock, *History of Placer and Nevada Counties, California* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 1924).

2. Nassu County has not been accounted for. A careful search of available materials has shown no record of such a county or district in California. This becomes more difficult to explain when it is noted that Alexander later in the letter suggests that mail to him should be sent to Louisville Post Office, Eldorado County, California.

3. Gold is measured by troy weight at twelve ounces to the pound. One pennyweight equals one-twentieth ounce or twenty-four grains. In 1852 the market price of raw gold was about $16 per ounce, and $192 per pound.

4. *The Placerville Courier* in 1851 described the "Golden Tunnel", a mine in the Yankee Jims area, as producing $5,000 per week. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

5. Corn and corn bread were important as crops and food in North Alabama and much of the Eastern United States; thus their scarcity in California would be of concern to the writer and the receivers of the letter.

6. The writer of the letter was apparently contrasting his open pit gold mining with tunnel and shaft mining, in veins of minerals, that was known by the receivers of the letter.

7. Alexander apparently took the all-water-route from the east coast to California by way of Cape Horn and made the voyage to the gold digging area in six weeks. He seems to have made very good travel time. He had reached his destination two weeks before this letter was written.

In 1857 a Mrs. McClure and her eight children sailed from New York May 5, 1857, and by taking the Isthmus of Panama crossing, reached Yankee Jims where Col. McClure awaited them, June 1, 1857. W. B. Lardner and M. J. Brock, *op. cit.*

8. Eldorado County joins Placer County on its southern border. Louisville Post Office in Eldorado County was established July 28, 1851, and was discontinued and moved to Greenwood October 9, 1852. Walter Frickstad, Compiler, *A Century of California Post Offices, 1848-1954* (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Rotoprinting Co., 1955).

Louisville was a famous stopping place, store, post office and saloon in the gold rush period. It was owned and operated for a long time by a family by the name of Poor who came there in the early 1850's. The old post office and store building was destroyed by a forest fire about 1937. The ranch area including the old Louisville Post Office site is now owned by Wilbur and Maybelle Timm. The Poor family members are buried in the Pioneer Cemetery at Kelsey, California, which is about a mile from the old Louisville site. Letter from Eleanor Kelly Griffith to L. Paul Hyatt, December 17, 1962.

*La Raza: The Mexican-Americans.* By Stan Steiner. (New York: Harper & Row, 1969. 418 pp. $8.95.) Reviewed by Kaye Briegel.

Stan Steiner has chosen to avoid the hard work of honest scholarship and produce instead a work of shoddy mediocrity. Perhaps he was reviewing his own book when he wrote, "The barrios [Mexican-American neighborhoods] are largely unknown and misunderstood . . ." (p. 150).

Mr. Steiner's misunderstanding is reflected in several aspects of his study. His lack of understanding of the Spanish language, although amply shown in other places, is perhaps most glaringly illustrated when he refers to "*El Espeso* (The Mirror)" in three separate places including the index. His historical knowledge also seems weak when he suggests that Spanish land grants in what is now the State of Colorado were "issued by the Court of Queen Isabella" (p. 61). These misunderstandings are not isolated but randomly chosen examples of Mr. Steiner's scholarship. His ignorance is compounded, moreover, by his paternalistic and sentimental tone.

*La Raza* has, despite its poor quality, enjoyed wide distribution and sales. The book's acceptance is testimony to the failure of United States — and especially Western and Southwestern — historians to do the hard work of honest scholarship on Mexican-Americans.

**Kaye Briegel** is currently on the history staff of Long Beach City College.

*The Clifton-Morenci Strike: Labor Difficulty in Arizona, 1915-1916.* By James R. Kluger. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970. 94 pp. $3.50.) Reviewed by Kaye Briegel.

Western History often seems to be the chronicle of Eastern entrepreneurs conquering the land and its people for their own satisfaction. James R. Kluger, however, has written about another aspect of Western History. He has written about a labor union in the West. He has, moreover, written about the role of Mexicans in that union. This is an unusual book about a unique Western strike — one that was nonviolent in a time of violence on the part of both labor and management. Kluger gives an excellent, almost day by day, description of the strike based on a variety of primary sources including company records. It is sad, therefore, that he has limited his study to a chronicle of the strike itself. His book leaves many questions unanswered: the actual living conditions of the workers in Clifton and Morenci, the conditions that determined the attitude of both managers and owners of the mines toward the strike and all the factors that made the strike nonviolent. The answers to at least some of these questions are still to be found in the sources Kluger used. He has, however, laid the groundwork for further study of topics not well enough known in Western History.

**Kaye Briegel** is an instructor at Long Beach City College.

*CHINIGCHINIX: An Indigenous California Indian Religion.* By James Robert Moriarty. (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1969. 59 pp., 2 maps, unnumbered figures and plates. $5.95.) Reviewed by Robert F. Heizer.

Professor Moriarty has provided us with a commentary or abstract of the strongly moralistic religious or cult beliefs of the Indians of Mission San Juan Capistrano as recorded by the Franciscan missionary Jerónimo Boscana in 1822. Boscana's record purports to tell of the revealed teachings of a prophet whose name was Chinigchinix and who is said to have been born in the Gabrielino Indian village of Pubu a few miles inland from Long Beach. It is not possible to determine with certainty whether the prophet *Chinigchinix* was an actual person born in the latter half of the eighteenth century or whether the person named Chinigchinix is a mythical individual who is represented in Indian belief as though he was a once-living and remembered person. Appearance of the cult is almost certainly late and came at a time just before or not long after the appearance of the Franciscan missionaries in 1769. Numerous parallels to Christian belief in the native cult encouraged A. L. Kroeber to consider it quite possible that the Chinigchinix cult was a messianic one which arose in Mission times among the Gabrielino of the Los Angeles area and Santa Catalina Island and then spread southward to be accepted by the Luiseño, Cupeño, and Diegueño. This spread is proved by the fact that the cult songs are always in the Gabrielino tongue.

The Boscana account is, by the way, not limited to detailing religious beliefs and practices. There is additional information on such subjects as the calendar, warfare, village names, and a unique sketch of Indian character. It is, in short, an ethnography with emphasis on religion.

Boscana's manuscript, or at least one version of it running to about 30,000 words, was acquired, translated and published by Alfred Robinson in his famous *Life in California* (1846). This original has disappeared, hopefully to be discovered at some future date if it has survived. Another version, somewhat differently arranged but equally long, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. This was acquired by Leon de Cessac on the French expedition to California in 1884 from the priest at Santa Barbara Mission.

Moriarty has provided us with a well-written summary of the content of Boscana's account which is the longest, fullest and most scholarly ethnological document written about California Indians in the Mission period. But what we still lack is a careful collation of the Robinson version whose original is lost, and the still-surviving version in Paris. This scholarly endeavor will surely be performed by some historian or ethnologist. Moriarty's little book makes no attempt at this important task but is a simply written account of some highlights of the Boscana document aimed at the public which is interested in Indians.

ROBERT F. HEIZER is professor of anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley.

*The Capture of the Santa Ana: Cabo San Lucas, November, 1587. The Accounts of Francis Pretty, Antonio de Sierra, and Tomás de Alzola.* Transcribed, translated, and annotated by W. Michael Mathes. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1969. 59 pp.)

*The Cora Indians of Baja California. The Relación of Father Ignacio María Nápoli, S.J., September 20, 1721.* Translated and edited by James Robert Moriarty III and Benjamin F. Smith. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970. 76 pp.)

*Journal Aboard the Bark Ocean Bird on a Whaling Voyage to Scammon's Lagoon, Winter of 1858-1859, by Charles Melville Scammon.* Edited and annotated by David A. Henderson. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1970. 78 pp.) Reviewed by Noel J. Stowe

These three handsome volumes maintain the fine tone and high quality of Edwin Carpenter and Glen Dawson's *Baja California Travels Series.* The first two present documents pertaining to the Peninsula's Spanish period while the third picks up a decidedly contrasting theme from the nineteenth century through the diary of a whaler.

Mathes' volume (his third in the series) covers the capture of the Manila galleon the *Santa Ana* in November, 1587. In an excellent introduction, the editor skillfully outlines the setting of the three documents he presents. Quickly surveying the establishment and development of the Acapulco-Manila trade, he moves on to note the problems of the trade route and the appearance of interlopers, such as Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish, upon that scene. The latter's piratical activity is the major concern since Cavendish was the one capturing the *Santa Ana* at considerable gain to himself. As Mathes noted the loss suffered was the greatest one "sustained by Manila galleons during their two centuries of service." Security was a demonstrated need for the galleons and a resultant effort was made to provide it. The three annotated documents which are included describe the actual seizure of the *Santa Ana.* First is the account by Francis Pretty of the Cavendish raiders. His view is paralleled to that of two Spaniards, one a seaman of the *Santa Ana,* Antonio de Sierra, and the other Captain Tomás de Alzola. Mathes completes his work with a selected bibliography of pertinent materials.

Baja California's Cora Indians are the subject of the volume edited by Moriarty and Smith. Their focus is on an account left by an obscure Jesuit Ignacio María Nápoli. In 1721 Nápoli wrote his provincial of his first impressions of the peninsula. He had arrived at La Paz August 2, 1721, and by September 21 he was busy detailing his newly formed opinions. His subject was the area he had just briefly visited and to which he had been assigned to found a mission. This was the region south of La Paz at Las Palmas Bay. The editors had two objectives, namely, to present Nápoli's account and to give a brief biography of his activity as a missionary. Their introduction accomplishes the latter task, and from sparse sources they assembled a succinct account of his work at the same time remarking on his apparent ability to work with the Indians but not with his fellow Jesuits. The Nápoli document by its title leaves the impression that it surveys Cora Indian activity. In reality, however, Nápoli's concern was with the Indian reception to the missionary endeavor and with an evaluation of the geography of the area he witnessed. Much descriptive material appears relative to possible land use, the availability of water, and the fertility of the land. The potential success of mission endeavor was his primary concern.

The Henderson volume is apparently the first of several which will describe the whaling activity off the Peninsula's west coast. Published here is the *Journal* of the *Ocean Bird* whose captain was Charles Scammon — a man important in this context as a whaler but also significant as a scholar for his studies of the California gray whale. Henderson's brief introduction notes that other volumes will follow on whaling and a companion volume will contain the bibliography of the titles referred to in his present work. He then plunges into the *Journal* which covers the 1858-1859 winter in Scammon's Lagoon, an appendage of Vizcaíno Bay. In lengthy annotations to the *Journal* Henderson more than adequately establishes the setting of the document and demonstrates his own close familiarity with his material. Furthermore, illustrations and maps notably enhance this work. What is clearly established by the *Journal* is the overall outline of the whaling venture. The scene of the writing was a typical mating and calving area off Mexico's northwest coast. Scammon's small fleet of four vessels arrived in late November, 1858, after sailing from San Francisco. The capture of the first whale about a month later, followed the necessary preparatory activity of making ready both vessels and equipment and awaiting the appearance of the whales within the lagoon's inner reaches. By mid-March, 1859, Scammon had a catch of at least forty-seven whales and a cargo of 1700 barrels of oil. His *Journal* not only well describes the whaling activity itself but in addition the tedious and dangerous aspects of the accompanying work before, during, and after making the catch.

In short, all three works provide interesting and stimulating reading and continue the worthwhile aspect of the series which is to make available documents on neglected portions of this peninsula's fascinating history.

NOEL J. STOWE is an assistant professor of history at Arizona State University.

*Los Hermanos Penitentes: A Vestige of Medievalism in Southwestern United States*. By Lorayne Ann Horka-Follick. (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1969. 185 pp. $7.50.) Reviewed by Austin Nelson Leiby.

*Los Hermanos Penitentes* is a fraternal Brotherhood, having as it's aims co-operation and care of one for another, and religious practices which are intended to assist each Brother to lead an exemplary life here on earth and to prepare him for passage into the choicest realm of life after death. The flail and the lash were its tools, self-mortification of the flesh the means.

Anyone basically familiar with the great harm which has occurred to the reputation of some of our "other" races by writers of what may be termed "Anglo-mentality," must cry out and echo Miss Horka-Follick's comment on page 158: "For a person who specialized in the area of Spanish-American history . . . , one would think that he [she] would have expressed a deeper understanding of the Spanish mind. . . ."

Albeit, the work is complete, in it's setting, and probably the best comprehensive portrayal of the subject matter; forgiving of course the many dangling phrases and grammatical errors. Termination brings one into accord with what must be the author's main conclusion: that the excesses and evils of the Brotherhood resulted from cultural isolation rather than from religious deviation, and were blown-up out of proportion by early Anglo observers and settlers.

The Brotherhood is traced to it's origin, in the medieval past, in the Old World, in Spain, through the New, and up into the mountain fastness of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. The work boils-down into a narrative compilation of the various books, observer-notebooks, magazine articles, and historical-journal articles previously written about *Los Hermanos Penitentes*. As such it suffers somewhat from standard fact-versus-legend problems, some of which the author pinned down and others she did not.

Among minor historical errors in the work are the p. 78 claim that Albuquerque was founded, or existed as an entity, prior to 1700; the p. 88 error to the effect that New Mexico was occupied by the Americans *after* the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo; and the p. 105 assertion that the crosses carried in procession by the Brothers weighed eight-hundred pounds!

*Los Hermanos Penitentes* is worth reading. Whether author-inspired or publisher-inspired, the compilation of appendices is unique in such a short work, and valuable, and each appendix adds new light in a new way to the work. The last chapter, not historical but rather speculative, evaluates what the future may hold for the Brotherhood. It is here that the author reflects her natural area of interest and understanding. It is sad to note her final conclusion: the Light of the Enlightenment as evidenced by civilization's advance sometimes snuffs out those twinkling candles which are a heritage of our past.

Austin Nelson Leiby, a graduate student in history, is specializing in the history of southwestern USA.

*Terra Australis Cognita.* By John Callander. Bibliotheca Australiana, 8-10. (Amsterdam and New York: N. Israel and Da Capo Press, 1967. 3 vols. 1972. $85.00.) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, a new interest in exploration arose. Although this exploration reached the heights of the sixteenth century, it took on a scientific aspect previously absent. The earlier classics of the history of voyages by Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas were difficult to obtain however, and John Callander set about the task of bringing these works up to date as well as adding additional accounts of voyages which did not appear in them.

Volume one opens with a discourse on the importance of Australia and the Southern Hemisphere to England's future and an urging of further discovery. Following this introductory section are the journals of the voyages of Vespucci, Gonneville, Magellan, Caravajal, Loaysa, Saavedra Cerón, Hurtado, Alcaçoba, Francisco de Ulloa, Camargo, Gaitán, Villegagnon, Mendaña, Drake, Silva, Winter, Sarmiento, Fenton, Gali, and Cavendish taken in the main directly from Hakluyt, Purchas, Fletcher and Monson but also translated from de Bry, Martir, Pigaffetta, Herrera, Ramusio, Acosta, Argensola and López de Gómara.

The second volume continues the journals, basing them upon the above sources as well as LeMaye, *Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes* and Thevot. Included are the seventeenth century voyages of Richard Hawkins, Fernández de Quirós, Spilbergen, Le Maire, Schouten, Nodal, Le Hemite, Pelsart, Pool, Tasman, Brouwer, Vink, Narborough, Veyts, Sharp, Cowley, Dampier and Wafer along with an extensive treatise of Dutch activities in Australia and Japan.

To the sources used in volume two is added the work of de Brosses in the compilation of the third volume. Covering the latter part of the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, this final volume contains the voyages of De Gennes, Fleming, Cantova, Beauchesne, Dampier, Funnell, Fouquet, Woodes Rogers, Feuille, Frezier, La Barbinais, Clipperton, Shelvocke, Roggewein, Bouvet, Anson, Antonio de Ulloa, Brigon and Byron.

Published in Edinburgh by A. Donaldson between 1766 and 1768, Callander's work appeared when England was about to enter a new era of discovery by Captain James Cook. Little known, Callander's work is basic for the study of voyages of discovery to the Southern Hemisphere. This second edition is in facsimile and contains four maps. Unfortunately the first edition at times was poorly printed and thus the facsimile is rather difficult to read, nevertheless it is on fine paper and well bound.

W. Michael Mathes, author and authority on naval voyages to the Pacific, is associate professor of history at the University of San Francisco.

*Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848*. By Maynard Geiger, O.F.M. (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1969. 304 pp. $12.50.) Reviewed by Francis J. Weber.

The appearance, in 1940, of Maynard Geiger's *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba (1528-1841)* was credited by reviewers with providing "a better balance between the political and ecclesiastical history of the region." Now, thirty years later, the dauntless compiler has issued a companion volume which performs a parallel service for yet another of the New World's more pivotal Spanish outposts. The story of those heroic evangelizers who, two hundred years ago, effected the first triumph of religion and civilization in what is now the state of California, is couched within a series of 142 essays outlining each friar's spiritual, physical, intellectual, and social contributions to the overall missionary enterprise.

The individual entries, ranging from twelve lines (Faustino Solá) to eight pages (José María de Jesús González Rubio), are based upon a quarter-century's study of the official documents of Franciscan provinces and colleges, reseñas of the Spanish government, mission registers, and biographical reports written by the commissary prefects as well as descriptions of visitors and pen-pictures of latter-day residents. Although "a parade of interminable footnotes was eschewed to lessen the bulk of the book," the work is still quite extensively documented and is, by virtue of its compiler's reputation, a source book which Californiana enthusiasts must hereafter include among their basic reference tools.

Statistically, 142 Franciscans from three apostolic colleges invested 2,269 man-years in "this last corner of the earth" between 1769 and 1848. Their period of service ranged from a few months (Julián López) to forty-four years (José Ramón Abella). As might be expected in any assemblage of human personalities, not all found their work congenial, nor did all measure up to the physical or psychological strain placed on their temperaments. A number were outstanding, many were merely successful, all tried and a few were failures. In any event, "each one deserves the niche in history he earned."

The volume is remarkably free from the typographical errors that generally plague such gigantic undertakings. One exception is the birthdate of Fray Gerónimo Boscana, given on the initial chart in Appendix II as May 23, 1776. The correct date is May 27, 1775, as stated on page 29. The twelve fact-laden charts are, by the way, revisions of "Biographical Data on the California Missionaries (1769-1848)" which earlier appeared in the *California Historical Society Quarterly* XLIV (December, 1965), 297-308.

In addition to a select bibliography, the compiler has added a useful Appendix outlining the biographical highlights of the nine additional Franciscans who visited, but did not stay, in California during the Hispanic period. Those unfamiliar with Seraphic terminology will welcome the "Glossary of Terms" wherein such ambiguous terms as commissary prefect, discretory, and guardian are succinctly and accurately defined.

Father Maynard Geiger's latest work easily falls among the half-dozen most scholarly, useful, and colorfully-presented volumes released to commemorate California's Bicentennial. Western Americana fans cheerfully and gratefully doff their hats (or would it be cowls?) to the directors of the James Irvine Foundation of The Huntington Library for making this encyclopedic tome available for serious and leisurely pursuits.

**Francis J. Weber**, archivist for Archdiocese of Los Angeles, is the author of numerous books on the history of the Catholic Church in California.

*Who Discovered The Golden Gate? The Explorers' Own Accounts. How They Discovered A Hidden Harbor and At Last Found Its Entrance.* By Frank M. Stanger and Alan K. Brown. (San Mateo: San Mateo County Historical Association, 1969. 173 pp. $10.95.) Reviewed by Theodore E. Treutlein.

This is in all respects a superb book, superior in conception, execution, and design. No review of this work should fail to praise the Sibbert Typesetting Service, the Peninsula Lithography Company, and Arnold E. Olds, the book designer. The authors are Dr. Frank M. Stanger, well-known to California history readers for his Peninsula writings and his work with the San Mateo County Historical Association, and Dr. Alan K. Brown, who must be counted as the most knowledgeable scholar in the realm of the early diaries on which this book is based.

The volume consists in three parts: I. "The Stream of Events", being a stylistically and historically excellent account of the several explorations made by land and by sea (1769 to 1776) in the general San Francisco Bay region; II. "Explorers' Maps", an authoritative treatise on the maps and charts of Costansó, Crespi, Cañizares, and Font (in the exploration period), and the later ones of Beechey and the United States Coast Survey (1850), all maps beautifully reproduced; and III, "The Explorers' Own Accounts", wherein are found those portions of the diaries which bear on the subject. In III, the device is used of marginal notations which guide the reader as he follows the action. It requires only a minimum of empathy on the reader's part to imagine himself a member of the several exploring parties. With reference to Part III also it is important to note that Dr. Brown has worked with the original Crespi diaries, the "draft" version as well as the finished copy (p. 70).

An insert, "What did the *San Carlos* look like?" is a brief discussion of the appearance of the first European ship known to have entered San Francisco Bay. Two Antonio Caula (marine artist with the *Museo Naval* of Madrid) paintings are among the illustrations used in this section.

Since the authors have chosen to pique the reader's curiosity with their title, it is a temptation to leave it to the reader to find out for himself who discovered the "Golden Gate". The reviewer, who has tried his hand at a similar study, agrees with the present authors that it was *not* Sergeant Ortega as so many, including Bolton, have concluded. He also agrees that the first men to see the "Gate" probably were the soldiers of the Fages expedition in 1770. Then it becomes a matter of deciding whether a discoverer must understand that he has discovered something when he sees it even if others have seen it before him. One can't have it both ways, and if the authors insist that Captain Rivera discovered the Gate because he realized it was a discovery (in 1774), then what does one make of the Portolá expedition (1769), acknowledged by all (except the Drake followers) to have discovered the Bay itself, yet who did not at the time of their sighting understand that they had found a new port?

But this is carping, and the book deserves to be strongly recommended as a worthy contribution to Californiana in this time of the bicentennials of the discoveries and colonization which occurred in the San Francisco Bay region during the years 1769 to 1776.

Front and back cover maps, "Paths of the Explorers", and an index are included in this fine work.

Theodore E. Treutlein, professor of history at San Francisco State College, is author of numerous books on the Hispanic exploration and missionization period of the Borderlands.

*Joaquín Murieta: The Brigand Chief of California.* Reprint of a 1932 Grabhorn Press edition, with supplemental notes by Raymund F. Wood and Charles W. Clough. (Fresno, California: Valley Publishers, 1969. 125 pp. $4.95.) Reviewed by W. W. Robinson.

Through offset lithography Valley Publishers of Fresno have now reproduced and made available to Joaquín fans the attractive volume which the Grabhorn Press issued in 1932 as No. 1 in its series of Americana Reprints. Its title was and is *Joaquín Murieta: The Brigand Chief of California.* It carries the sagacious introduction which Francis P. Farquhar provided thirty-eight years ago and the spirited drawings of Charles Nahl. The new edition also gives comment by Raymund F. Wood and Charles W. Clough, the result of recent research.

Referring to the Murieta story that was published in 1955 by the University of Oklahoma Press — based on the discovery of one copy, in Thomas W. Streeter's library, of the original 1854 version written by Yellow Bird (John R. Ridge) — Professor Wood gives evidence that Ridge may have been the author also of the 1859 "California Police Gazette" story used by the Grabhorn Press. He feels that Joseph Henry Jackson's lengthy introduction in the University of Oklahoma Press book emphasizes too heavily the fictional character of Murieta — spelled also as Murrieta. One reason given is that in 1969 he (Wood) interviewed members of the Murrieta family living in Sonora, they being descendants of David Murrieta, "a cousin of the famous bad man."

Actually Farquhar, Jackson, and Wood are not too far apart in their interpretations. All three agree that there was an individual bandit named Murieta or Murrieta, but that the stories (presented by Ridge) are necessarily fictional. Quoting Farquhar: "When a bandit attains the celebrity of a Joaquin Murieta it becomes almost impossible to distinguish the actualities of his life from the legend that grows up about him." Jackson said: "Since there wasn't a Murieta — at any rate not much of a Murieta — it was necessary to invent one." Wood now reminds us that "what is of importance is that the story of Murrieta is a first-class tale, founded on historical fact, but embellished with imaginative fiction."

Thanks to Professor Wood, Mr. Clough, and Valley Publishers we now have a Grabhorn Press item that has long been out of print, reactions of authorities to California's most famous bandit, additional information, bibliographical and otherwise, and the opportunity to reread an international classic that has inspired writers, playwrights, poets, and musicians.

W. W. Robinson is the foremost authority on the history of Southern California.

# Book Notices

### *By* Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

Book collectors and philatelists have been brought together in their mutual search for an enticing item called *What Happened to Junípero Serra?* prepared by the Rev. Francis J. Weber, Archivist for the Los Angeles Archdiocese. Father Weber's sharp eyes detected an error in the special 80 *centavo* airmail stamp issued by the Republic of Mexico in honor of California's Bicentennial Year. The portrait of Fray Francisco Palóu was used instead of the accepted study of Junípero Serra. This enchanting micro-mini of a book measures but 1⅞-inches by 1¼-inches and is handsomely bound in morocco. Tipped into each one of these "mini-books" is one of the *Aero 80 centavo* Mexican stamp "oddities". The 29-page essay by Father Weber is unique and Bela Blau's fine handset type and leather binding have created a highly desirable addition to any Californiana collection (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1969. $15.00).

Bibliographies, at times, can be the most tempting of all reading materials and this theory is quickly proven correct by "A List of Significant in-Print Books about California and Published in California," to be found in *200 Books for California's 200th Anniversary*. This list prepared by John Bruckman is a gem and it is a tremendous bargain for the unsuspecting! Graced with a delightful foreword by the noted historian and book reviewer W. W. Robinson, it has been issued by the California Library Association and the Book Publishers Association of Southern California (Glendale: P. O. Box 230, CA 91209, 1969. 19 pp. $1.00). A full membership list of the Book Publishers Association of Southern California is also included in this worthy publication.

Some very worthwhile materials have recently been issued which will add a deeper insight to an in-depth study of the contributions of the Negro in the West. Foremost is the reprint edition of *The Negro Trail Blazers of California,* by Delilah L. Beasley (San Francisco: R. and E. Associates, 1968. 318 pp. $15.00 hard cover; $12.50 soft cover). This fine history first published in 1919 has provided an excellent and at times only source material on our Negro heritage.

The Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History held one of the first exhibits in this country entirely devoted to *America's Black Heritage* depicting the history of the Black community in Los Angeles since its founding in 1781. The exhibit included seldom-viewed paintings, photographs, and documents, many of which were lent to the Museum by private individuals and institutions for the period of December through March. Russell E. Belous, curator of the history department serving as editor, assisted by Associate Curators William M. Mason and Burton A. Reiner, has compiled a splendidly researched and well-illustrated catalogue, *An Exhibition of America's Black Heritage,* Bulletin No. 5 of the Professional Publications of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History (Los Angeles: 1969. 64 pp. $2.60).

Fortunate members of the Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 7440 Alexander Court, Fair Oaks, CA 95628 ($3.00 yearly dues), received not only a fascinating

Keepsake but an expertly reproduced facsimile of *Negro Civil Rights in California: 1850* (Sacramento: The Tamalpais Press, 1969. 12 pp.), prepared by David L. Snyder, of the California State Archives and a Club Member. Roger Levenson at his Tamalpais Press printed only 300 copies exclusively for the membership. This is Special Publication No. 10 of the Sacramento Book Collectors Club and is a highly desirable collector's item.

*The Divine Eccentric: Lola Montez and the Newspapers* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1969. 228 pp. $7.50), by Doris Foley, is an amazing and completely fascinating coverage of the Countess de Landsfled, of whom Dumas once said, "She has the evil eye. She will bring bad luck to every man who links his destiny with hers." The *Autobiography,* written by Charles Chauncy Burr in 1858, reprinted in its entirety appears in this edition. The author has concentrated on what the newspapers had to say about the "Divine Lola," and has diligently searched through California's newspapers through every issue published between 1853 and 1861.

Local historians could take note of the spritely historical tribute prepared by Elizabeth C. MacPhail in her *Story of New San Diego and of its Founder Alonzo E. Horton* (San Diego: Pioneer Printers, 1969. 152 pp. $2.50). This study of Horton, the developer and staunch defender of New San Diego, is a fine history, well prepared and illustrated. It will provide an excellent source item for the years 1867-1917 within San Diego's rich 200-year history.

The October, 1967, and January, 1968, issues of *The Journal of San Diego History,* published by the San Diego Historical Society, have been skillfully combined into one volume which is a richly illustrated booklet. *The Journal of San Diego History* (San Diego: P.O. Box 10571, CA 92110, 1969. 76 pp.).

Somehow lost in the all but overwhelming production of books and pamphlets issued each year by our Western publishers and institutions is a small item entitled *Francisco Orozco y Jiménez: an Apologia Pro Vita Sua,* edited by the Rev. Francis J. Weber, Archivist for the Los Angeles Archdiocese, with a preface by Paul V. Murray. This little known study presents a clear and forthright statement as written by the prelate who served as the fifth Archbishop of Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico (1864-1936), and who suffered much for his country and church.

*The Example of Miss Edith M. Coulter* (Sacramento: The California Library Association, 1969. 18 pp. $6.75 cloth), by Lawrence Clark Powell, has been made available. It has been carefully designed and printed by Grant Dahlstrom at The Castle Press. Dr. Powell's splendid contribution marks the eighth in a line of distinguished Keepsakes published by the California Library Association — the first began with James D. Hart in 1960 and the seventh by Ray Allen Billington in 1965.

Reprints of little known rare books and pamphlets concerning various ethnic groups in California have, of late, become the major contribution of the R. and E. Associates, 4843 Mission Street, in San Francisco. Their Jugoslav-American Immigrant History Series span church and periodical directories, mining camps, cemetery and marriage records, covering 1849 through 1930. *Slavs in California,* by Stephen N. Sestanovich (San Francisco: 1968. 136 pp. $5.00 paperback) was issued in Oakland in 1937. This was a study of all Slavic groups in California since their arrival, with special consideration given to the various Jugoslav groups. It was originally published on the occasion of the convention of the Slavonic Alliance held at Oakland in November, 1937.

An account of the Japanese submarine operations on the West Coast will be found in Grahame F. Shrader's well researched *The Phantom War in the Northwest* (Edmonds, Washington: 233 N. 5th Avenue, privately printed, 1969. 60 pp. $3.75 paperback). This piece of research and statistics compares official U. S. accounts with those kept by the Japanese government and provides new source material on a subject as yet too lightly covered. Mr. Schrader reports on the enemy submarine attacks on Allied ships in the Pacific coastal waters and of the bombardment of Oregon and Canadian shorelines. He was most fortunate to have the cooperation and use of various governmental agencies and their files. In addition he gained the unique assistance of Masatake Chihaya of the Tokyo News Service who was a wartime officer of the Japanese Navy and a widely respected naval historian.

*America's Frontier Story: a Documentary History of Westward Expansion* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969. 657 pp. $6.95 paperback), edited by Martin Ridge and Ray A. Billington, will be welcomed on all sides. The story of the movement westward, of fur trappers, miners, cattlemen, explorers, soldiers, and of the pioneer farmers is an overwhelming one. However, these two astute historians have managed to conquer such a herculean task and have encompassed within the chunky 657 pages a wealth of material that spans the days of discovery to the twentieth century. The editors have managed to retain the zest and keen interest of the original writers and to incorporate some of their own zeal and enthusiasm as an integral part of this fine work. A bounty of splendid photographs add much to this study of our American Frontier West.

A series of articles which have appeared in *Westways* as that publication's contribution to the California Bicentennial and which have been compiled by Davis Dutton, *A California Portfolio* (Los Angeles: Westways Magazine, 1970. $1.95) is now available in book format. Utilizing the same fine illustrations and graphics of the series, this compilation will prove a worthwhile tool for all teachers, students, and libraries.

For the ever widening circle of desert enthusiasts Russ Leadabrand's *Exploring California Byways III — Desert Country* (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. 154 pp. $1.95) will provide not only a fund of information but much enjoyment as well. This, the latest to be added to the growing list of "Byway" books, is a compilation of twelve stories which appeared in *Westways* magazine. The informative paperback contains good photographs as well as descriptive maps of the areas described.

In 1958 an exciting and colorful reception was held in Olvera Street to mark the publication of one of the loveliest of books, *The Malibu,* by W. W. Robinson and Lawrence Clark Powell, with illustrations by Irene Robinson. The price for one of the 320 copies of these beautifully designed books printed by the Plantin Press was then $20.00. Suddenly its merit and beauty was recognized and its price soared beyond the $125.00 price bracket per copy! But now through the medium of the Ward Ritchie Press in Los Angeles a splendid reprint paperback can be obtained for the most modest price of $3.00 a copy.

The very new publication *The Western Historical Quarterly,* January, 1970, published by the Western History Association (Logan: Utah State University, Utah 84321. $7.00 yearly), carried an announcement concerning the newly established Regional Oral History Office as part of a department of the Bancroft Library with Mrs. Willa Baum as head. Consequently, it should be noted that Mrs. Baum's fine study, *Oral History for the Local Historical Society* (Stockton: Conference of California Historical Societies, 1969. 44 pp.), can be obtained from the University of the Pacific, price not indicated.

A group of library friends have sponsored a touching and long awaited *Tribute to Edwin Grabhorn and the Grabhorn Press* (San Francisco: The Friends of the San Francisco Public Library, 1969. 26 pp. $7.50). San Francisco and the Grabhorns have become so interwoven that their names have all but become synonymous to book collectors and artists. Dr. James D. Hart, director of the Bancroft Library, has contributed a delightful *Tribute* which will please the bibliophile, students of fine printing and design, and best of all, the lucky collectors who have a Grabhorn Press item or two.

*The California Handbook,* compiled and edited by Thaddeus C. Trzyna and William Shank (Claremont: Center for California Public Affairs, 1969. 300 pp. $6.95 paperback), is a comprehensive guide to sources of current information and action. The contents cover environment, government, economy, the arts, education, history (by area and period), and other basic data on sources of general information as well as on periodicals, bibliographies, libraries, bookshops and museums. A most useful tool!

Ralph J. Jones' *Longhorns North of the Arkansas* (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1969. 372 pp. $7.95) depicts the life and magnitude of the Great Plains cattle industry. The work is illustrated with line drawings by Donald M. Yena and is enhanced with historical photographs. An illustrated chart depicting the cattle brands of the ranches covered in the book has been added.

A second publication from the Naylor Company of San Antonio, Texas, and another author named Jones is *So Say the Indians* (191 pp. $6.95), by Louis Thomas Jones. In his foreword Carl Schaefer Dentzel, director of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, states: "Dr. Jones' sensitivity, scholarship and skill have brought together a revealing, rewarding and inspiring revelation relating to the American Indian. His work reveals an understanding of Indians that only a lifetime of intelligent devotion could produce . . . But it is not too late for people to hear the beauty, philosophy and wisdom of the aboriginal Americans. *So Say the Indians* will provide a valuable stepping stone along this rewarding trail." Louis Thomas Jones, the author, was a professor of European history at Whittier College and has long been involved in Indian research and museum work. His other works include *Red Man's Trail, Indian Cultures of the Southwest,* and *Aboriginal American Oratory.*

A round-up of eight short novels of the west, published by members of the Western Writers of America under the title of *Western Bonanza,* has been edited by Todhunter Ballard (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969. 420 pp. $6.95). Represented are writers Clifton Adams, Elsa Barker, Clay Fisher, Bill Gullick, Luke Short, and others.

*Doctors on Horseback,* the saga of men who served on the medical frontiers in the United States, is now available in paperback. This reprint of James Thomas Flexner's study (New York: Dover Publications Reprint, 1969. 338 pp. $2.50) has been enlarged and will prove of value to those interested in medical history.

*Chinaman's Chance* is a collection of Elmer Wok Wai's reminiscences of life in San Francisco's Chinatown, of his long seventeen years spent in San Quentin Prison, and of his eventual parole, as told through the pen of Veta Griggs (New York: Exposition Press, 1969. 227 pp. $5.00).

# MANUEL SERVÍN

Through the five decades of its publication, the *California Historical Society Quarterly* has grown in prestige and readership because of the scholarship and perserverance of its editors. Founded and guided through its early years by such eminent historians as Henry Wagner, Robert Cowan, Charles Camp, Carl Wheat, and Douglas Watson, the *Quarterly* quickly achieved the national reputation that it has maintained to this day.

The editor who has served longer than any of his distinguished predecessors has chosen to conclude with this issue of the *Quarterly* a full decade of editorial leadership. Manuel Servín has brought to the Quarterly since 1960 not merely those requisites expected of an editor, but more — a fresh, innovative spirit, a confidence in the contributions to be made by students and young authors, and, too, a sense of the reality of history — all of which will establish Manuel Servín's editorship as an era in which the California Historical Society moved with the times, without sacrificing any of the traditions of style or scholarship.

As Manuel takes leave of his editorial chair, we have asked Doyce Nunis and W. W. Robinson, two of his long-time associates and able representatives of two generations of California scholars, to join with the staff and Trustees of the Society in paying tribute to a good editor and a good man.

J. S. HOLLIDAY, *Director*

# A PERSONAL APPRECIATION

I have been privileged to count Manuel Servín among my closest acquaintances. Indeed, in point of time and association, he is my oldest friend. As a fellow editor and colleague, I have shared many of his experiences over these past years. So you will know him as I do, a biographical word or two.

Born in El Paso, Texas, August 8, 1920, his parents, Isidro and Juana Maldonado (Ferrer), shortly thereafter migrated to southern California, settling at Calexico. Raised in that desert community, Manuel early learned that life could be hard and demanding. His environment shaped his destiny; his spirit was forged in the broad expanse and tempered in the sweltering heat of Imperial County.

Endowed with a native intellect, he proved a good student. Embued with a sense of service, his preliminary collegiate education was as a seminarian. But it was the academic world which beckoned. In 1949 he earned his B.A. from Loyola University, followed by a master's degree in social work from Boston College in 1951. Newly married, he returned to the west coast and resumed graduate study at USC. There he completed the M.A. (1954) and Ph.D. in History (1959). During those grueling years, he supported his growing family by teaching in the local public schools.

On the eve of his doctoral commencement, he was appointed to the faculty of El Camino College. It was from that position he was called to the editorship of the *Quarterly*. Two years later his graduate alma mater, USC, invited him to become a member of the History Department.

In essence, during this past decade he has worn two hats — editor and teacher. His performance in the first is graphically attested to in volumes 39-49. Yet through all the time-consuming duties required of a conscientious editor, his teaching performance never waivered. Vibrant and intense in personal communication, he is also articulate and dramatic. His students quickly learn that his standards are high, and that he expects of others what he imposes upon himself. He is warm and gentle, candid and congenial, fun-loving and loyal. Scholarship and integrity are his hallmarks. He gave both, fully, to his dual responsibilities as editor and teacher.

As you take leave of your editorial chores, Manuel, I salute you for a job well done. I find comfort in knowing that your dedication to scholarship and teaching will continue as you assume your new post as professor of history at Arizona State University. *Adios, amigo. Vaya con Dios.*

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

## MANUEL P. SERVÍN, AS EDITOR

In June 1960 I became fully aware of the take-over by Manuel P. Servín of the editorship of the *California Historical Society Quarterly*. In that month he flattered me in Bakersfield by asking for the right to publish a talk I had just given before a historical symposium in that city. The article, "The Writing of Local History," appeared in the September, 1960, issue of Editor Servín's new *Quarterly*.

The *Quarterly*, under the Servín leadership, has made a noteworthy contribution to California history and scholarship and has maintained the Society's standards. The topical coverage has had breadth. I note authoritative articles on California Indians, biographies of pioneer figures, early day land grants, architecture, wine-making, politics and political campaigns, Hollywood, and education — to mention only a few subjects. The authors have been mostly professional historians of stature, beginning with John W. Caughey and including California's and the West's best known men and women of the scholastic world. Several Church authorities, such as Maynard Geiger, have made solid contributions to California's history via the *Quarterly*. Distinguished non-academicians, such as Albert Shumate, Dwight L. Clarke, and Lucius Beebe, have been called on by Editor Servín to make contributions in specialized fields.

Significant during the Servín regime has been his publishing of the work of the *younger* professional historians. This has encouraged and fostered interest and excitement in the state's history among those who are becoming the leaders of the profession. After all, publication in the *Quarterly* is a prized distinction.

This broad activity on Manuel Servín's part has not been accidental. It reflects the manifold aspects of the man himself. He is of course a scholar, an absolutely independent thinker, but a very modest man, one who appreciates good writing. His own personal contributions to the *Quarterly* (mostly devoted to the Spanish-Mexican period) have been characterized by simplicity, frankness, precision, and clarity — qualities that he values in his contributors. I have found Manuel over the years to be a gentle, fun-loving man, a delightful companion. Normally he is most restrained in demeanor, but he may challenge a speaker's statement at a symposium or at a committee meeting, especially if he is listening to sentimental or issue-dodging comments.

The book review section of the *Quarterly*, as maintained by Servín, has taken on largely the charitable and gentler approach of the editor himself, instead of the savagery that characterizes reviews in some of the other historical magazines. The selection of reviewing experts has been admirable, though admittedly the reviews sometimes have been so far behind the books' publication dates that the volumes are already out of print. Let's blame the sluggish reviewers.

Congratulations, Editor Manuel Servín on the fine job that has given the California Historical Society national stature!

W. W. ROBINSON

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